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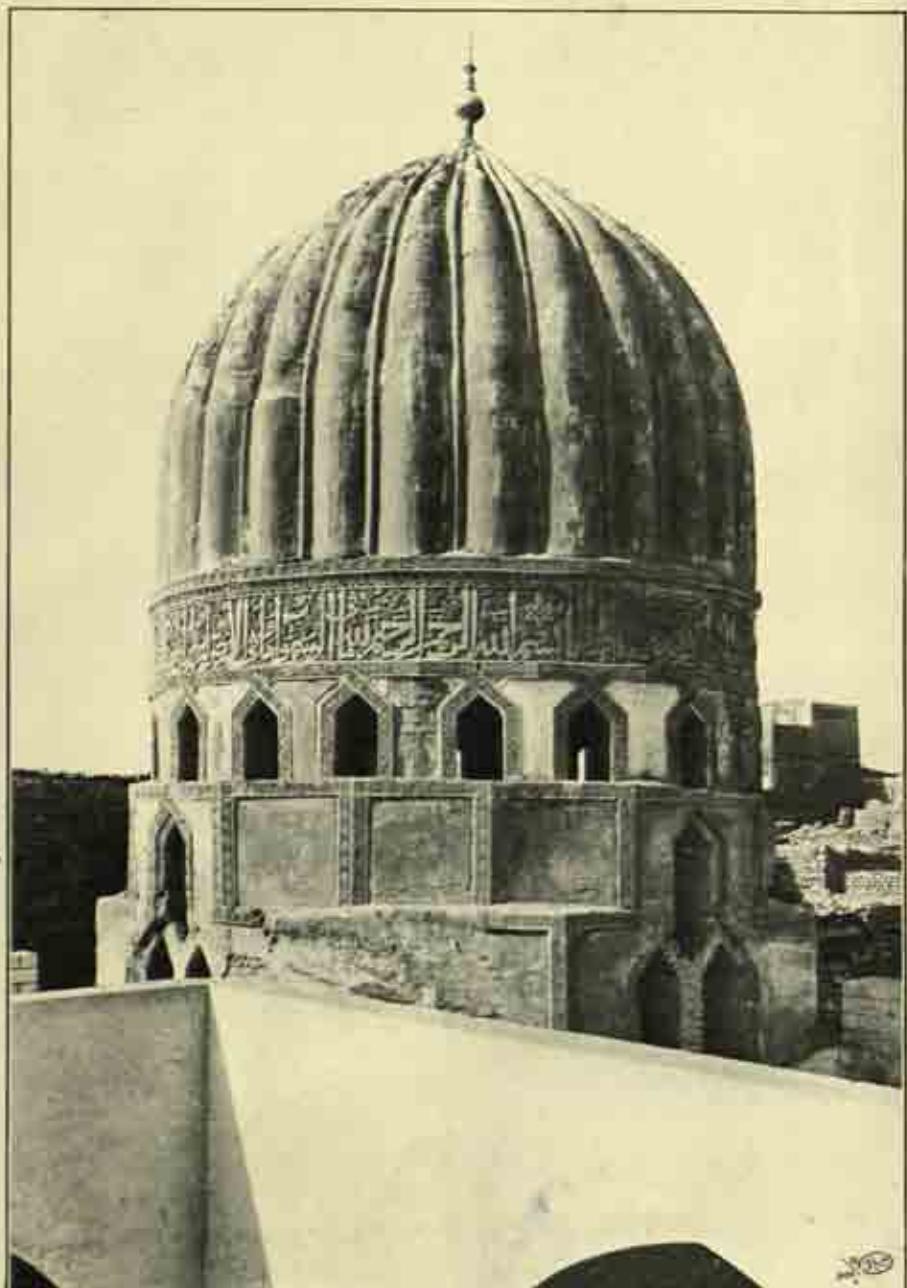
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Phot. Geissel.

Mausoleum of the Sheykh Zeyn ed Din Yussef.

RAMBLES IN CAIRO

BY

Mrs R. L. DEVONSHIRE



726.21
Dev

CAIRO

THE SPHINX PRINTING PRESS.

1917

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TO THOSE AMONG MY LATE
COMPANIONS IN WHOM IT
MAY STIR A PLEASANT
RECOLLECTION, THIS BOOK
IS DEDICATED.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE letters, of which the following are a modified and enlarged form, appeared in the *Sphinx* during the winter of 1916-1917⁽¹⁾ under the title of *A Convalescent in Cairo*. They purported to be written by a convalescent and represented actual excursions with wounded soldiers, several of whom showed the keenest and most intelligent interest in what they saw. One of them, an elderly Territorial, served as a model for the imaginary author of the Letters as they appeared in the *Sphinx* and would indeed have been quite capable of writing them. Having repeatedly been asked to compile a guide-book to Cairo monuments, it occurred to me that the material I had collected for the purpose of those excursions might be used in connection with a simple work of the kind required.

It would however have proved a gigantic task to write a monograph of each of the 359 historic monuments of Cairo, and, on the other hand, the Chronological Table which forms the most useful part of this little work would have been somewhat dry if published entirely by itself. It is hoped that the Letters, referring as they do to the most celebrated buildings, and written with an almost complete absence of technical details, for readers absolutely new to the subject, may serve to awaken the interest and gratify the curiosity of people with a latent taste for Moslem architecture and history, who may afterwards find the Chronological Table useful if they continue their studies of this fascinating and somewhat neglected branch of art. I have been careful in each letter to give clear indications of the locality of every monument mentioned, so that, with the aid of the excellent plan supplied by the Survey Department, no traveller should experience any difficulty in finding his way through the labyrinthine native quarters of Cairo.

I have also appended a list of the principal books in which I have found the information I have used, most of which can be procured from the Sultanieh Library, Sh. Mohammed Aly. These renowned authorities do not always agree with each other, and, in several instances, the disagreement between them is such that a mistake must have been made by one or the other. This fact is somewhat encouraging to an obscure student, whose inevitable errors will not therefore be too harshly condemned by learned critics.

(1) Letters IV, XI and XII did not form part of the original series.

Several of the most interesting stories of Cairo monuments and their founders have been purposely left out of this book as they form the subject of a more ambitious work now in course of preparation.

In addition to the map already mentioned, the interesting photographs kindly placed at my disposal add a very special value to my little book and I am glad to record my grateful thanks to Mr. Wade, Mr. Frederick Chatterton, F. R. I. B. A., Mr. W. A. Stewart and especially to Lieut. K. A. C. Creswell, R.F.C., together with my regrets if existing circumstances prevented full justice from being done to their beautiful negatives. The photographs marked M.A. were lent by the Arab Museum, those marked C. C. M. A. come from the archives of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes*. The few which have no name were procured from the very inadequate stock of the Cairo shops. I have also to thank Lieut. W. M. Hayes, of the Survey of Egypt, the Editor of the *Sphinx*, Lutfy Bey Es Sayed, Director of the Sultanieh Library, the sub-Director, Sheykh El Biblawy, Sheykh Said Ismail, Aly Bey Bahgat, Director of the National Museum of Arab Art, and M. A. Patricolo, the distinguished Chief Architect of the Commission for the Preservation of Arab Monuments, for the kind way in which they have smoothed difficulties in my way and placed information and practical help at my disposal.

In the spelling of Arabic names, I have endeavoured to keep as consistently as possible to the Arabic model. It is vain to attempt to follow pronunciation without respect to orthography, for the pronunciation of certain Arabic letters varies so much according to locality that the same word may assume a totally different aspect when spoken, say, by a Syrian or an Egyptian. For instance if, in order to suggest Syrian pronunciation, we write "Djeddeh" which Cairo natives would call "Gadda," we should consistently write "Djizeh" and "Djezireh" which no local cab-driver would recognise at all. Again, most people living in Cairo become accustomed to the strange way in which the Arabic letter *q* is suppressed in pronunciation, and, if they know that names such as "Qüsün" or "Aq sunqur" are spelt with a *q*, it may occur to them to ask for the mosque of "Usün" or "A'sun'ur" where they would meet with a puzzled denial if they said "Küsün" or "Aksunkur."

In the case of the article, however, I have modified the letter *t* according to the rule of pronunciation which applies in all Arabic speaking countries, i.e. Abd *er* Rahman, Mohammed *en* Nasser, etc.

H. C. DEVONSHIRE.

Cairo, July 1917.



LIST OF PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

<i>Manuel d'Art Musulman. I, Architecture</i> , H. SALADIN.	Paris	1907
<i>Manuel d'Art Musulman. II, Arts Plastiques et Industriels</i> , G. MIGEON.	"	1907
<i>Art of the Saracens in Egypt</i> , STANLEY LANE-POOLE.	London	1888
<i>Story of Cairo</i> , STANLEY LANE-POOLE, 2 nd edition.	"	1906
<i>History of Egypt in the Middle Ages</i> , STANLEY LANE- POOLE, 2 nd edition.	"	1914
<i>Histoire de l'Egypte depuis la conquête des Arabes</i> , J. J. MARCEL.	Paris	1848
<i>Histoire des Sultans Mamelouks de Makrizi</i> , trad. et notes de M. QUATREMÈRE.	"	1837-45
<i>La Citadelle du Caire d'après Maqrizi (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire)</i> , CASANOVA.		
<i>L'Art Arabe</i> , A. GAYET.	"	1893
<i>Notes d'Archéologie Arabe (Mémoires de la Mission d'Ar- chéologie Française du Caire)</i> , MAX VAN BERCHEM.	Cairo	1888
<i>Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. (Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire)</i> , MAX VAN BERCHEM.		1894-1903
<i>Bulletins du Comité de Conservation des Monuments de l'Art Arabe</i> .		:1882-1914
<i>Khitat Masr</i> , MAQRIZI.		
<i>Tarikh Masr</i> , IBN IYAS.		
<i>Kairo</i> , FRANZ PASCHA.	Leipzig	1903

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LETTER I.

THE MOSQUE OF IBN TULÙN

A.D. 876

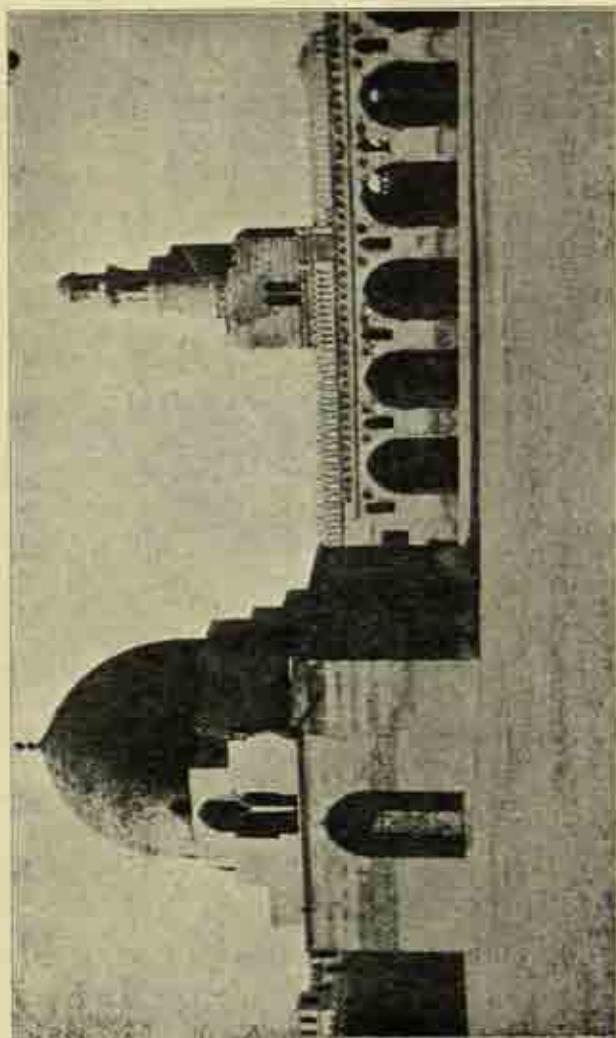
The Mosque of Emir Suyurghâlmish.

It is like the realisation of a dream to find myself in Cairo, able to see with my own eyes the mediæval buildings of this wonderful city and to place them in my imagination as a setting for the romantic scenes of Moslem history which always had such an attraction for me. There is no doubt that Cairo is the most interesting city in the world and that every lover of history will find here the opportunity of studying his favourite epoch, whatever it is, but it is specially rich in Moslem architecture, and it is amazing that more visitors do not take advantage of the artistic resources which are offered to them.

Though I have only been here two days, I have lost no time in beginning my rambles and I visited my first mosque yesterday. H. very kindly came to act as my guide; she knows Cairo well and speaks Arabic fluently. We drove through European looking streets until we came to a wide square called Sayedeh Zeynab, after a large mosque which stands there; the place also presents a "Caracol" or police station, not a remarkably artistic building. H. assured me that all the police stations in Cairo were built more or less on that pattern. But, from that moment, the drive became entirely delightful, for we turned off into a really Oriental street, bordered on either side with quaint little shops, and crowded with picturesque figures. It is called the Sharia El Marassin at first but later becomes the Sharia es Saïfieh; we left it just before it changes its name and went up a steep, winding, narrow road which led us to our destination.

It is a most interesting ruined mosque, called "Ibn Tulùn" after the ruler who built it. Pictures of it are to be found in every book on architecture, for it is one of the finest Moslem buildings in the world,

also one of the oldest, the date of it is A.D. 876. One mosque in Old



Phot. Wade

Mosque of Ibn Tulun, showing minaret.

Cairo⁽¹⁾ stands on an older site, but has been restored so many times

(1) The mosque of Amr Ibo el Aas. See chronological table at the end of this volume.

that practically nothing is left of the original building, whereas, in Ibn Tulūn's mosque, there remains enough to give us an idea of the noble plan and proportions of this grand place of worship. It stands on high ground and the outer court is reached by a flight of stone steps; the entrance to the mosque itself is at a corner so that one's first sight of it is a most impressive vista of cloisters formed by innumerable arches resting on massive rectangular piers so lofty that there is nothing "squat" about them in spite of their huge size. Before this mosque was built, it had been the custom of Moslem builders to rob Christian churches⁽¹⁾, and even old Egyptian temples, of their round, monolithic columns when they wished to erect a mosque, but Ahmed Ibn Tulūn preferred not to offend the Christian Copts of Egypt and was held back by his scruples from entrusting the building of his mosque to some renowned Greek architects, who declared that they required three hundred church columns in order to build a monument worthy of so great a king.

This reached the ears of a Christian architect formerly employed by the Emir but who was now in disgrace and imprisoned. He succeeded in sending a message to his master, telling him that he would gladly undertake to build him the finest mosque in the world without the use of a single column. Ahmed Ibn Tulūn, delighted, released his architect and supplied him with everything he required.

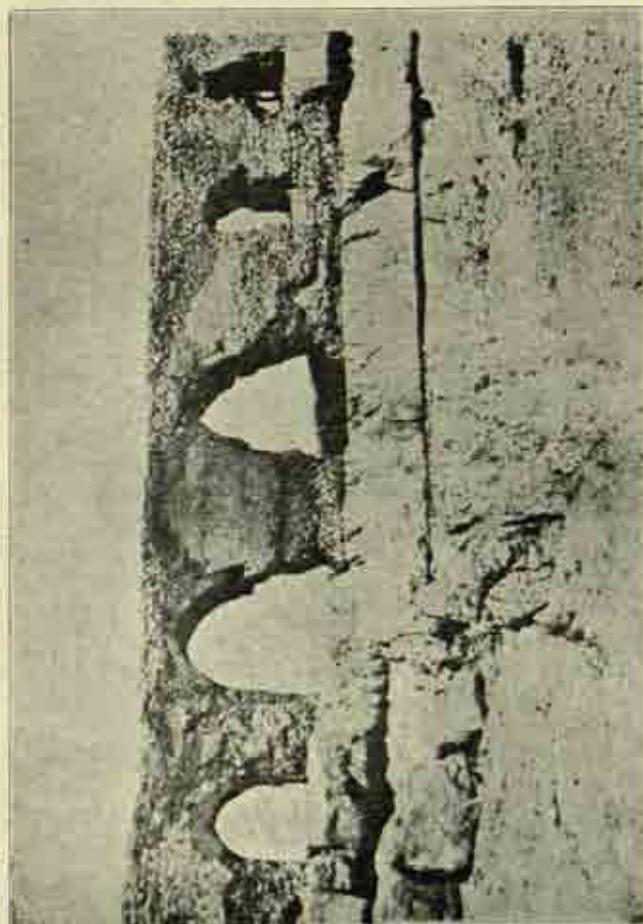
This anecdote may have been invented after the event; a more scientific way of explaining the fact that this mosque was built of bricks cased in plaster, instead of the stone of the neighbouring quarries, is the theory that it was deliberately copied from the mosque of Wāthek Ibn Muṭassim at Samarrah (Mesopotamia). This would also account for the unique form of the minaret about which the following anecdote is told, also without a guarantee of authenticity. Ahmed Ibn Tulūn prided himself with justice on his untiring energy and had great contempt for dreamers and men who wasted their time. Having, however, been surprised on one occasion when his thoughts were wandering and his fingers idly rolling a piece of paper into a spiral, he hastened to ascribe a reason for this futile occupation by ordering his architect to be called. "Here," he said to him "is the form that thou shalt give to the minaret of my mosque; I have prepared for thee this model with my own hands."

There are many interesting stories told of this prince, one of the greatest rulers Egypt has ever had; he founded several buildings of public utility, dispensaries, a hospital, and even drinking troughs for cattle. Some portions still remain of an aqueduct⁽²⁾ intended to carry water to a palace

(1) In the same way, early Christian church builders in Italy utilised columns taken from classic temples.

(2) This aqueduct is said to have been the work of the Christian architect who afterwards built the great mosque.

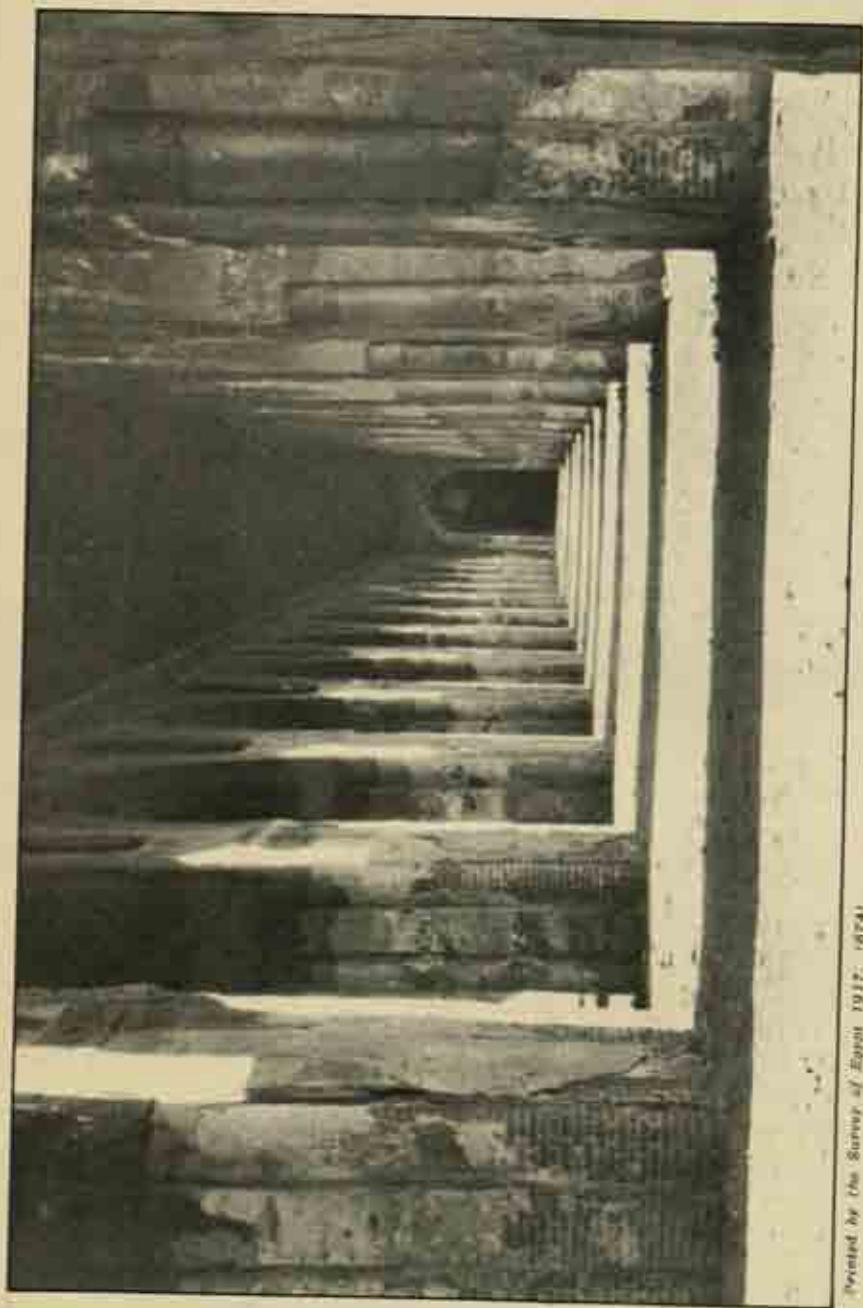
he had built at the foot of the present Citadel. Maqrizi relates that the Emir was particularly proud of this last achievement and offended by the fact that the people did not sufficiently appreciate the pure water brought by the aqueduct; he quotes the following story told by the Sheykh Mohammed Ibn Abd el Hâkem. "I was one night in my house, when a



Phot. Cremona.

Portion of Tulunide Aqueduct at El Basatin (Mizret el Imâم).

slave of Ibn Tulûm came and said "The Emir wants thee"; I mounted my horse in a panic of terror, and the slave led me off the high road. "Where are you taking me?" I asked; "To the desert, was the reply, the Emir is there". Convinced that my last hour had come, I said "God help me!"



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917 (874)

Interior of M. of Ahmed Ibn Tulun

Wade

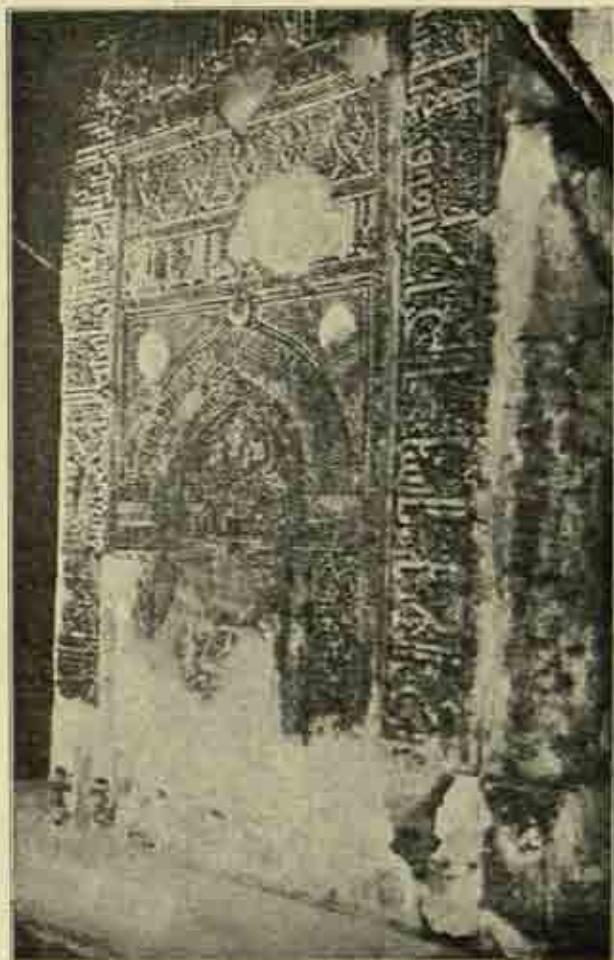
I am an aged and feeble man: do you know what he wants with me?" The slave took pity on my fears and said "Beware of speaking disrespectfully of the aqueduct." He went on till, suddenly, I saw torch-bearers in the desert and Ibn Tulūn on horseback at the door of the aqueduct, with great wax candles burning before him. I forthwith dismounted and salamed but he did not greet me in return. Then I said "O Emir, thy messenger hath grievously fatigued me and I thirst, let me, I beg, take a drink." The pages offered me water, but I said "No, I will draw for myself." I drew water while he looked on and drank till I thought I should have burst. At last I said "O Emir, God quench thy thirst at the rivers of Paradise! for I have drunk my fill and know not which to praise most, the excellence of this cool, sweet, clear water or the delicious smell of the aqueduct." "Let him retire!" said Ibn Tulūn and the slave whispered "Thou hast hit the mark" (1).

Of the suburb of El Qatai, which Ahmed Ibn Tulūn built on the heights, north east of Fostāt, the original Arab capital of Egypt, nothing now remains but his great mosque, the buildings which surround it being of a much later period. The date of the mosque itself is fixed by a very curious inscription in two fragments, the most ancient in Moslem Egypt, a drawing and translation of which are to be found in Marcel's "Egypte moderne". From ancient writers' accounts, this mosque must have been, in the time of its glory, resplendent in beauty and richness of decoration and there yet remain traces of wonderful mosaics, marble pavements, carved wood inscriptions and plaster lace-work (2). The domed building in the centre of the immense court once surmounted a fountain and dates from the restoration by Sultan Lāgin in 1296. By that time the capital of Egypt had been moved from the quarter where the mosque stands to another part nearer the Citadel and the mosque fell into disuse and decay; people ceased to come to worship there and it was supposed to be haunted; only one lamp was lit at night and the man who chanted the call to prayer feared to come nearer than the threshold. An Emir who had murdered another for political reasons, being pursued by the dead man's friends, succeeded in eluding them and found concealment in the dark corners of the neglected old mosque. He made a solemn vow that he would repay its shelter by repairing it and he kept his word when, in 1296, he became Sultan of Egypt. Apparently this Emir, Husām ed Dīn Lāgin el Mansūry, was an estimable man in spite of the afore-mentioned accident, for he is

(1) Translation by Lane Poole.

(2) A very remarkable specimen of stucco work is found in a prayer niche which is placed against one of the piers: it presents some peculiarly rich designs, one of the earliest ornamental crescents and an inscription in beautiful Fatimite Kufic characters, from which we learn that it was built by El Afdal, son of Badr el Gamālī, in 1094.

said to have been an excellent ruler, so much beloved by the people that there were tremendous public rejoicings when he recovered after a long illness. This illness was caused by a fall from his pony whilst playing polo!



Phot. Wade.

Mosque of Ibn Tulūn
Stucco mihrāb with Fatimite inscription.

Does it not seem extraordinary to think of these Saracens playing a fashionable game like polo at the time of the Norman Conquest?

From the minaret, which we duly ascended, there is a marvellous view

of the city of Cairo with its innumerable domes and minarets. I was struck by the appearance of a very ruined mosque close below us, which we must have passed on our way; the dome of it was quite unlike any



Phot. Greswell.

Mosque of Suyurghātmish.

other. H. told me that it was built by the Emir Suyurghātmish (this long name means A Present, in the Turcoman language) under the reign of Sultan Hassan (A.D. 1356).

LETTER II. THE UNIVERSITY OF EL AZHAR.

A.D. 970

College mosques of the Emirs Aqbogha and Tâibars.

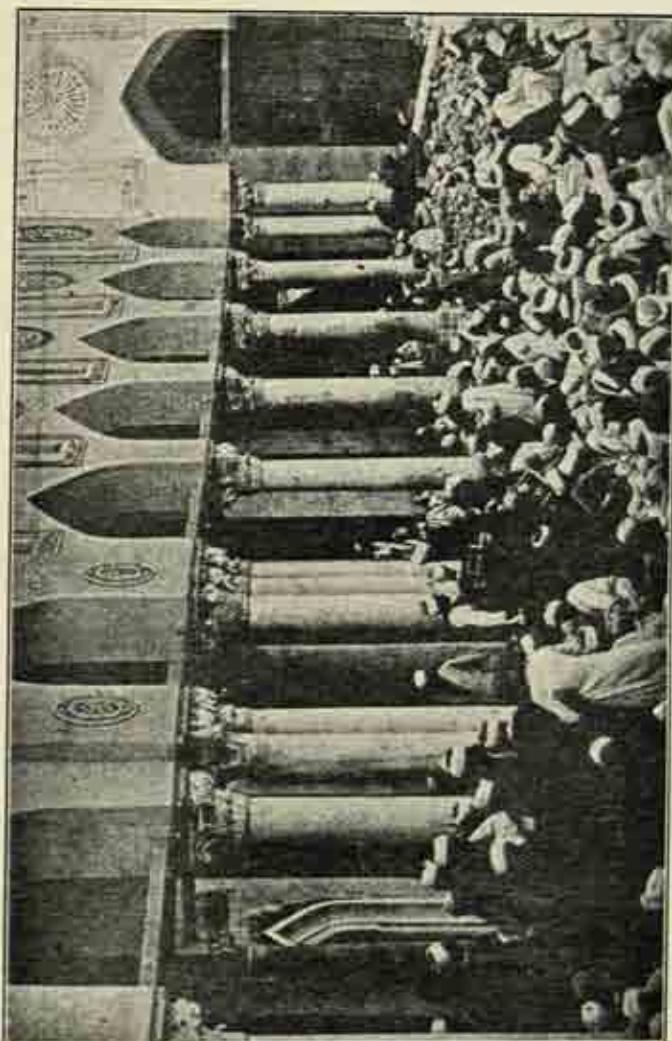
IT was with the greatest interest that I looked forward to a visit to El Azhar, the world-renowned Moslem University, and my anticipations were fully realised yesterday when H. took me to this celebrated mosque. Originally built in 970, when the Fatimite invaders from the Moghreb⁽¹⁾ founded the fortified town of El Qâliha (Cairo), and many times restored, it has for centuries been the chief centre of Moslem learning and still has as many as eleven thousand students on its registers. These students come from all parts of the Moslem world and pay nothing for their teaching; indeed, many of the poorer ones benefit by some pious foundation and receive a portion of bread every day; the sons of rich men, however, often bestow presents upon the lecturers. The education they acquire is rather limited and old-fashioned and consists chiefly of a thorough acquaintance with the Coran, of reading and writing Arabic and of a little arithmetic and geography. The study of the language alone covers ten or eleven years and includes very complicated grammar and syntax, and the study of the Coran leads to that of Moslem jurisprudence.

This Moslem University is sometimes spoken of as a very fanatical centre and some tourists had warned me against going there as I might meet with some hostile feeling. H. assured me, however, that any tourists who had not been well received had probably been themselves guilty of a lack of breeding, forgetting that they stood in a place of worship and that they ought to behave as respectfully as we would wish strangers to behave in one of our own Cathedrals. She added that she had several friends among the "dons" and that she had written to one of them to announce our visit so that she felt sure of a good reception.

Indeed, when we arrived before the main entrance, we found two or three men in beautiful silk robes waiting for us and an interested and sympathetic crowd of underlings ready with slippers to put on over our shoes so that we should not bring any filth from outside into the sacred

(1) The plan of El Azhar is said to be based upon that of the great mosque of Qâirwan.

precincts. The natives themselves take off their shoes and walk about in their socks. We happened to come in class-time, and, though I knew



Reproduced from "The Sphinx".

Mosque of El-Azhar. A corner of the Courtyard.

beforehand that this was a crowded school, I had not expected to see such a large number of people; the great courtyard was like a bee-hive.

We were able to watch several classes going on; there are no separate

class-rooms, no chairs, no desks and apparently no necessity to keep order. We did see one large hall which is used for lectures to the professors, but all the other classes are given under the colonnades of the sanctuary of the mosque; the students squat in a circle around the teacher who himself sits on his heels on the floor, perhaps with his back against a column, or on a sort of high, broad chair with no back. Those who were learning arithmetic did their sums on metal plates which were really the sides of old petrol tins, whilst the master demonstrated on a familiar-looking black-board. All seemed to listen attentively to the lesson, taking little interest in us, and certainly showing no sign of resenting our intrusion. The white-bearded sheykh who was showing us round, talking in Arabic with H., seemed a very well-known and much respected person. Several students, instead of attending a class, were learning by heart, in corners, by themselves; they made a queer, rhythmical movement which apparently helps them to remember the words. Others were stretched at full length on the ground, sleeping peacefully, as if nothing was worth worrying about. The sheykhs took us into various apartments, dwellings of students from foreign lands—most of the Egyptian students lodge outside in Cairo; there are Moslems in many parts of the world and their religion forms a wonderful bond between them. They believe that the Coran was revealed to Mohammed in Arabic which is therefore to them a sacred language. Turkish, Indian or Russian Moslems all have to learn the holy book in Arabic which they often do not understand at all, no more than a French or Irish Roman Catholic peasant understands his Latin prayers.

There is a special apartment for North Africans, i.e. Moroccans, Tunisians and Algerians, one for Abyssinians—their sheykh, an old man as black as ink, offered H. some tea; one for small, yellow men from Java; one for Indians, and another for Syrians, with white skins and handsome faces, a type very frequently met with here. Of the Egyptians, it is said that a great many become students in order to evade military service, Coran readers and preachers being exempted from it.

In one place in the courtyard, I noticed a quantity of small children, including some little girls, and was told that they constituted a practising school, El-Azhar being in fact a sort of training college for teachers.

The wall of one side of the sanctuary is entirely covered with lockers in which the day-scholars keep their books, etc.; the boarders have theirs in their own rooms. The students all looked very clean and tidy, most of them wearing the graceful silk robes and small white turbans which are so much more becoming than the lounge suit and red "tarbush" of the men one meets in the European quarter. There were a good many blind men about and it seems that special classes are held for them; they learn the Coran by heart and repeat long passages of it at festivals and funerals and in hareems, where their blindness secures admittance for them and

also for blind musicians. That infirmity does not go necessarily with a gentle and docile disposition, for I hear that, at one time, the blind men were the most refractory of all the students and gave the authorities much trouble.

El-Azhar was built in A.D. 970 by Gohar, a Sicilian freed-slave of the Fatimite Khalife El Moezz; he founded an entire new city, east of the old Fostat and of Ahmed Ibn Tulun's town, el Qatai. El Azhar was intended to be the Friday mosque, the official place of worship of the new Khalifate; it was only under Moezz's son, El Aziz, that it became a centre of learning.

The terrible earthquake of 1302, which did so much damage in Cairo, did not spare the sacred University, but it was piously and carefully repaired by a succession of Mameluke princes: the Emirs Silār and Suyurghātmish (the latter being the founder of the handsome mosque, now in ruins, which I saw near that of Ibn Tulūn, A.D. 1356), Sultan Hassan, whose great mosque I have not yet seen, and the celebrated Sultan Qātbay. Besides those restorations, some very important additions were made by the Emir Fāibars in 1309, the Emir Aqbagha in 1334, Gohar el Khankabay, Sultan el Ghūry in 1501, Abd-er-Rahmān Katkhoda in the XVIIIth century, and finally by the late Khedive, Abbas Hilmy Pacha.

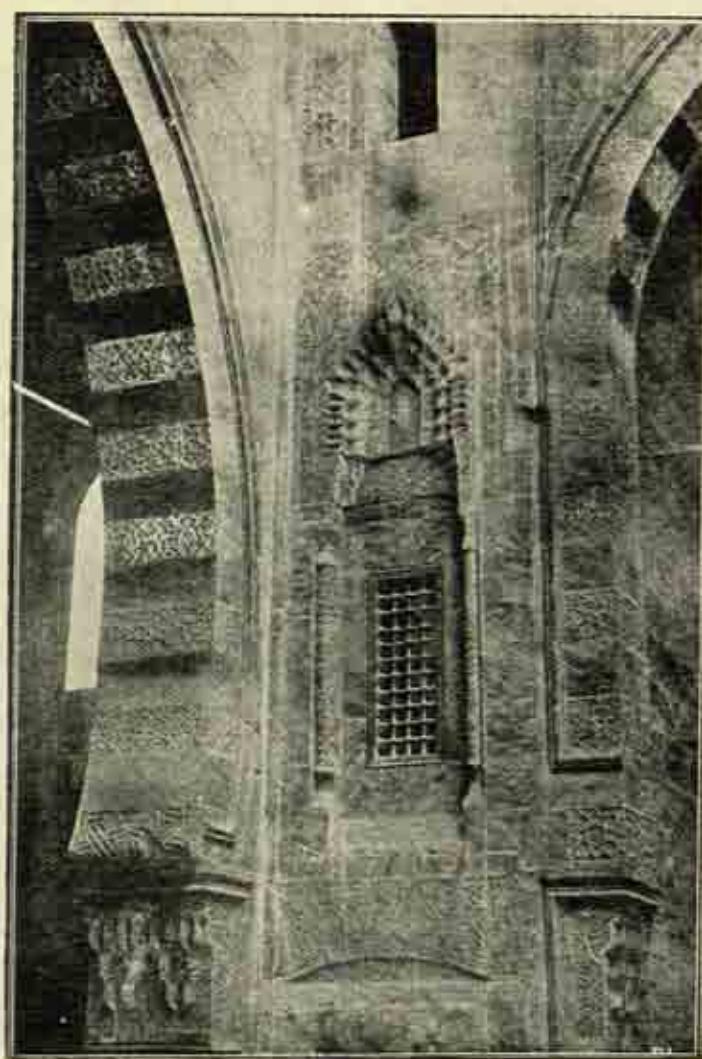
Abd-er-Rahmān Katkhoda deserves a special mention; two hundred years after the Turkish invasion which arrested the development of art in Egypt, he was one of the few who still attempted to produce buildings in the beautiful Mameluke style, and a great many of his well-meant and often successful restorations or original works are to be found in Cairo. The best known is a fountain (*sebil*) standing at a parting of streets near the Muristan of Qalaūn, which I hope to see very shortly. He also built the holy mosque of Sayedeh Zeynab.

Another great restorer, greater far in artistic merit than Abd-er-Rahmān, was the Mameluke Sultan Qātbay who lived in the XVth century. Lane-Poole calls him the Prince of Cairo Builders, and certainly, if history did not relate many wars under his reign, one could easily believe that his only interest in life was the work of beautifying Cairo and endowing it with exquisite monuments. Not only did he build two lovely mosques and a large number of fountains, palaces and caravanserais⁽¹⁾, but he also effected several restorations, of which El Azhar is a striking example.

The main entrance into the mosque is by the northwest door, restored by Abd-er-Rahmān; it leads into a narrow courtyard between two small buildings, originally school-mosques and now containing the offices of the

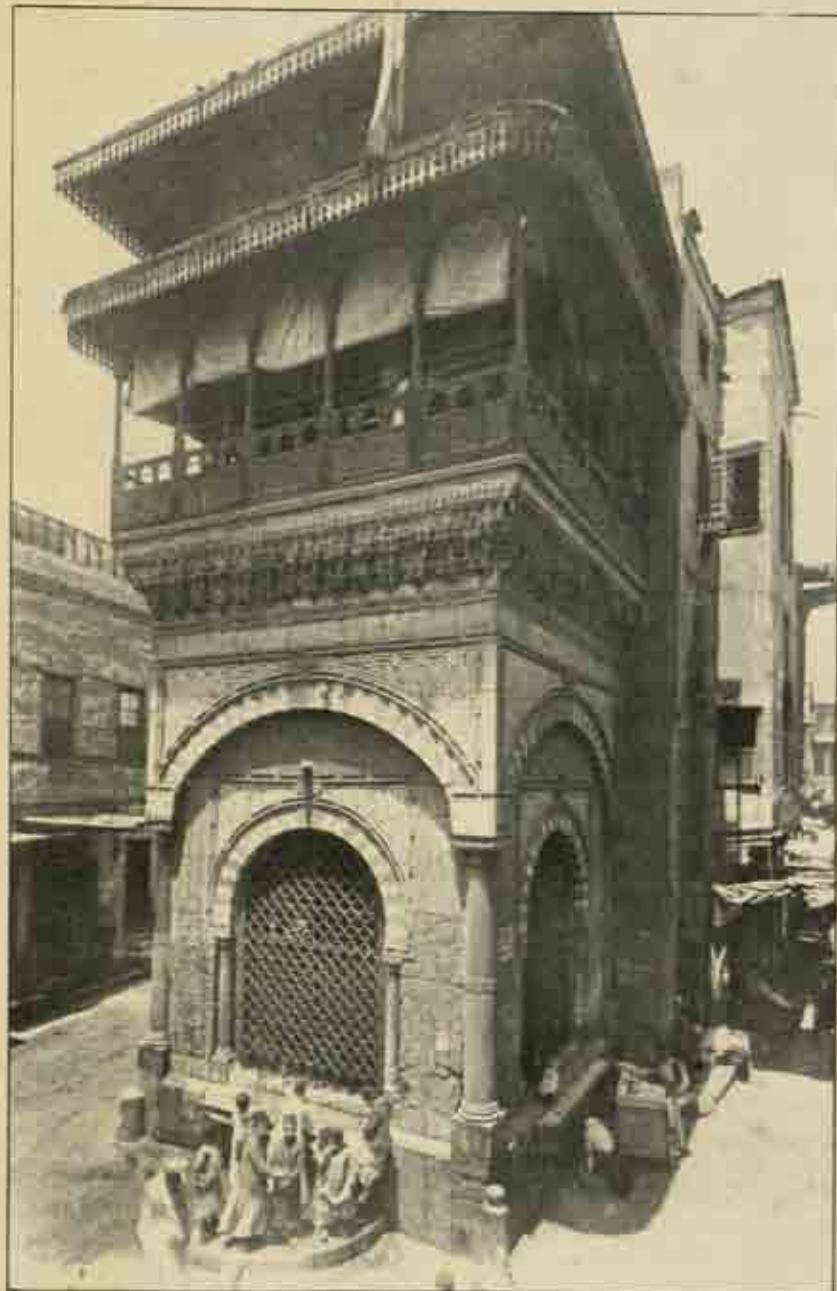
(1) The beautiful remains of his *wakīlāt* near the south door of El Azhar are well known to artists.

University. The one on the left, built in 1334 by the Emir Aqbagha, (majordomo of Sultan Mohammed en Nâsser), and reached by a picturesque



Ornamental details in Qaitbay's madrasah *intramuros*.

flight of steps, has become the college library. In it are hundreds of Arabic



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1937. 1974

C. C. M. A.

Sebil of 'Abd er-Rahmân Katkhoda

books and manuscripts, some of the latter most wonderful and valuable Corans of immense size. They belonged to individual Sultans, and it was to support them that those curious wooden thrones (*kursi*) were made which are to be found in Cairo mosques.

Another manuscript interested us, a copy of the Coran in such microscopic writing that the whole 112 chapters hold within sixteen small pages. It is not ancient, but quite modern, and the calligrapher is still living; I was not surprised to hear that he is now blind. The library also contains curious maps and globes and the telescope with which the Ulema discern the new moon on the first evening of Ramadan. In a kind of professors' sitting room, learned-looking men seemed engaged in correcting exercises. This building, being used for business purposes and not at all artistically furnished, has lost all its mediæval charm, and it is with a pleasant shock of surprise that one discovers a beautiful prayer-niche, hidden away behind book-cases.

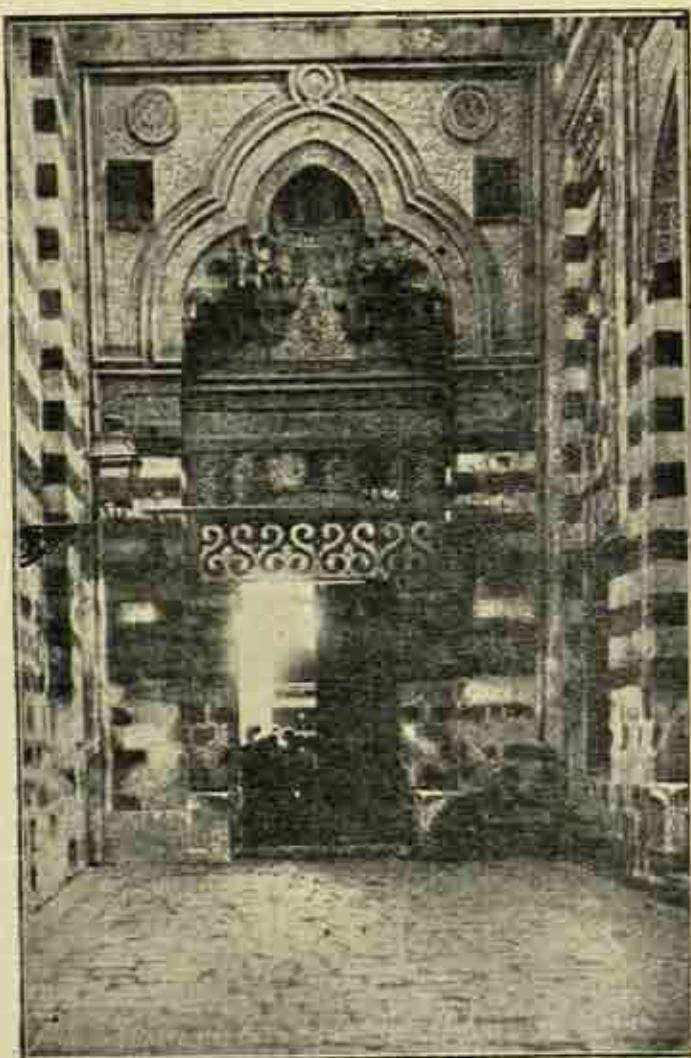
A still more beautiful one is to be found in the building on the opposite side of the courtyard, the small mosque and tomb of the Emir Tāibars, who seems to have been an Army Commander. His *qibleh* is one of the most remarkable works of art in Cairo, enriched as it is by a delicate mosaic of costly materials and flanked on either side by a superb ancient column of porphyry. The tomb is quite simple, and the rest of the building is encumbered by sordid-looking offices with partitions and pigeon-holes. Even the clerks, in European dress, look mean and common place in comparison with the dignified, silk-robed professors.

At the end of the small courtyard, a beautiful door way by Qāitbay, in pure XVth century style, leads into the great yard or *sahn*. A charming minaret by the same Sultan rises above it. Unfortunately, a later Sultan, Qansū el Ghūrī, also desired to bestow a gift on the holy college, and he planted another, taller, minaret close to Qāitbay's, dwarfing it and, at the same time, suffering by the comparison; the contrast is most marked between Qāitbay's elegant tower and Ghūrī's ugly, two-headed erection.

It is a generally accepted theory that Qāitbay, and the others before him, who restored the *sahn* allowed it to retain its original form, and it is considered as a good example of Fatimite architectural design, with broken "Persian" arches supported by Graeco-Roman marble columns. The wall above the arches is ornamented by shell-shaped niches and medallions and finished off by an open work parapet crowned with tooth-like points, called, I believe, "merlons". The centre arcade through which one enters the sanctuary stands exactly opposite Qāitbay's door; there is a small cupola above the entrance, decorated with rich Kufic inscriptions in plaster, which is said to be almost all that remains of the original structure.

The sanctuary is immense; three hundred and eighty columns give it the aspect of a veritable forest, under the cool shade of which groups of

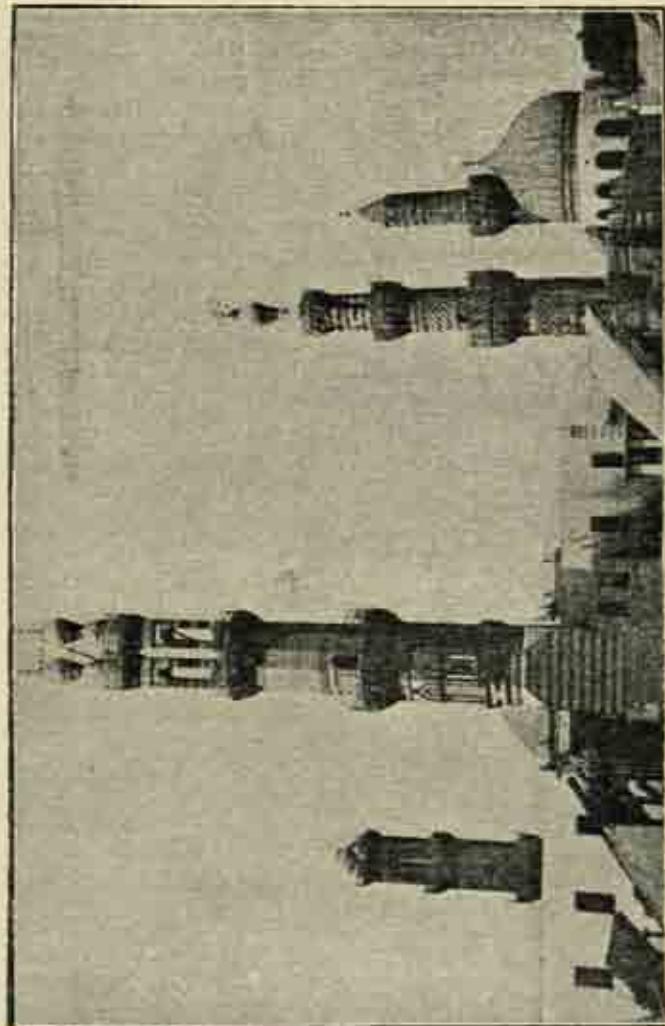
picturesque Orientals sit or recline absorbed in meditation. Gohar's original



El-Azhar.
Door by Qāitbay.

mosque only held six rows of columns, but Abd-er-Rahmān added four

arcades to it. He took away the south-east wall in order to effect this enlargement, but allowed the panel to remain which contained the original *gibeh*, building an additional prayer-niche in his new wall. He himself is



Mosque of El-Azhar. Minarets.

buried in a small chapel in the south-west angle of the mosque, near an entrance leading into a back street where some of Qaitbay's houses are to be found.

There is yet another chapel in the opposite corner, and the servants of the mosque declared that it formed the mausoleum of the founder, Gohar, but H. assured me that it was of much later date and that a certain Gohar el Khankabay⁽¹⁾ was buried there. It is a very small mosque and a very attractive one.

Finally, we went into a large hall at the back of the Taibarsliyeh, where lectures are given to the professors. This was built by the late Khedive, Abbas Hilmy, and is very luxurious, with handsome carpets, but the decoration of the room is rather gaudy and vulgar, modern in fact. I hear that other restorations were made to El Azhar in 1892, under the supervision of the special architect of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes*, a body of learned archaeologists which has done much to save the treasures of Cairo from destruction.

We walked back along the little street which leads to El Azhar from the Sikket el Gedidah, (the continuation of the Mûsky) and stopped to look at some of the innumerable native book-shops which the vicinity of the University has brought there. The whole quarter is very interesting, centred as it is around the great mediæval school and living its mediæval life. It takes but a few moments, however, to return to the modern, "civilised" world, its tramways, electric lights, smart-looking police-men, hideous buildings and fashionable tea-shops haunted by frivolous people of various races and complexions.

•••

(1) Perhaps the same as a Khazindar of that name who built a madrasseh at Jerusalem.

LETTER III. THE MOSQUE OF EL HAKEM

A.D. 1012

Bab en Nasr. Bab el Futûh. Wall of Badr el Gamâlî.

I AM endeavouring to arrange my rambles on a chronological plan, and, having seen Ibn Tulûn, the oldest mosque in Cairo, and El Azhar, the second oldest, I now found my way to the third, that which bears the name of the Fatimite Khalife El Hakem-b-amr-Ilâh. This long name means "he who governs according to God's order" and no appellation was ever less deserved. Hakem was the son of the Khalife El Azîz, son and successor of El Moczz, founder of El Azhar, a just, noble-minded and tolerant man, under whose reign Jews and Christians enjoyed equal treatment with Moslems. It is probable that this tolerance was due to the influence of his Christian wife, the sister of the two bishops of Jerusalem and Alexandria. Hakem inherited the throne at the early age of eleven; his father had appointed the Wazîr Birgwan to be his guardian, but, after a very few years, the young Khalife, wishing to shake off the Wazîr's authority, did not scruple to have him murdered. The name of Birgwan has been handed down to posterity by remaining that of a narrow, winding street starting under an archway which we passed on our way from the Sûq En Nahassin. He told me that it led to one of the most exquisite XVth century mosques in Cairo, a small madrasseh or college, built by one of Sultan Qâitbay's Emirs, the learned Abu Bekr Mazhar el Ansâry, in 1479. All this part of Cairo, from the Musky street, down the "Sûq en Nahassin" to the great gate called Bab el Futûh, is full of lovely mediaeval monuments, each of which deserves a visit.

To return to El Hakem, it seems evident that he was a madman, a sort of Nero, who perpetrated horrible cruelties and finally imagined himself a prophet, of Divine origin. He used to wander about the city at night, watching to see whether the insane rules he had laid down were being obeyed, rules about food, drink, the destruction of dogs, the conduct of women, whom he condemned wholesale to be shut up in their houses night and day⁽¹⁾, &c., &c. All his ministers were assassinated by his orders, one

(1) In order to enforce this rule, he went so far as to forbid shoe makers to sell any women's shoes.

after another, for no reason. When he proclaimed his own divinity, he was supported by some Persians who led the new sect; but the people, who had hitherto submitted to the Khalife's vagaries, now rebelled, and killed the false priests. One of them, whose name was Darazi, escaped, however, having hidden himself in the Khalife's palace; he succeeded in reaching Syria and founded on the Lebanon the religion of the Druses, which still exists. The Khalife himself was murdered soon afterwards, during one of his solitary rambles; his body was never found, only his dead donkey and his clothes, and the Druses are said to believe to this day that he ascended into Heaven and will return.

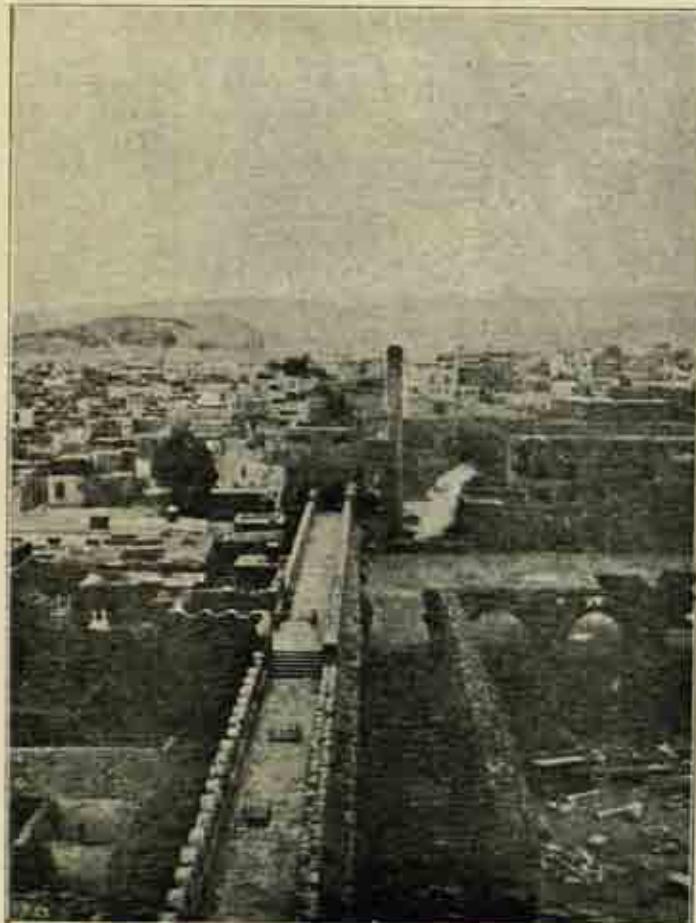
The mosque which bears his name and which is situated on the north side of Cairo, close to the gate called Bāb el-Futūh, was begun by El Aziz and only completed by El Hākem, at a time when he still professed the religion of his fathers. It covers a very large area of ground, as large, I should think, as Ibn Tulūn, and it is in an even more ruined state. It is to be hoped that the authorities will see their way to arrest its decay, and to clear it from the workshops, wooden-built primary school and ancient Egyptian *debris* which encumber the great courtyard. Until quite lately I believe, the wooden structure which harbours the school used to contain the priceless collections of the Arab Museum, now suitably housed in a handsome building near the Cairo Governorate. El Hākem's noble mosque has been sadly misused in the course of centuries. In 1167, the Crusaders occupying Cairo turned it into a sort of headquarters, including a church. It was used for Moslem congregations again in the time of Saladin, and, even more than El Azhar, it suffered terribly in the earthquake of 1302. The two powerful Emirs, Sīlār and Beybars el Gāshenkir, each undertook to repair one of the great mosques. Like el Azhar, Ibn Tulūn and the mosque of Amr in Old Cairo, El Hākem was intended to receive the whole population of Cairo for the Friday service when the Khalife himself officiated, which is the reason for the vast proportions of these mosques. Later on, when Mameluke Sultans ruled over Cairo and the Khalife merely wielded religious power, a great many smaller mosques were built, each Sultan building a mosque adjoining his mausoleum and the rich Emirs of his Court followed the sovereign's example.

The arcades of El Hākem's mosque spring from rectangular piers as is the case in Ibn Tulūn's, which evidently served as a model for this one, whilst the founder of El-Azhar reverted to the old and not very honourable plan of stealing columns from Christian churches.

The two minarets are the most striking feature of this mosque. Their appearance reminds one of huge pepper-pots, each standing on a sort of square pyramid. We walked up to one of them and behold! there was a door leading inside the pyramid which was found to contain a large, stone-built, circular tower, decorated with beautiful inscriptions; there is

a screw staircase inside the tower and a narrow iron one between it and the wall of the pylon, evidently placed there quite recently.

It seems that those towers, only discovered a few years ago by M. Van

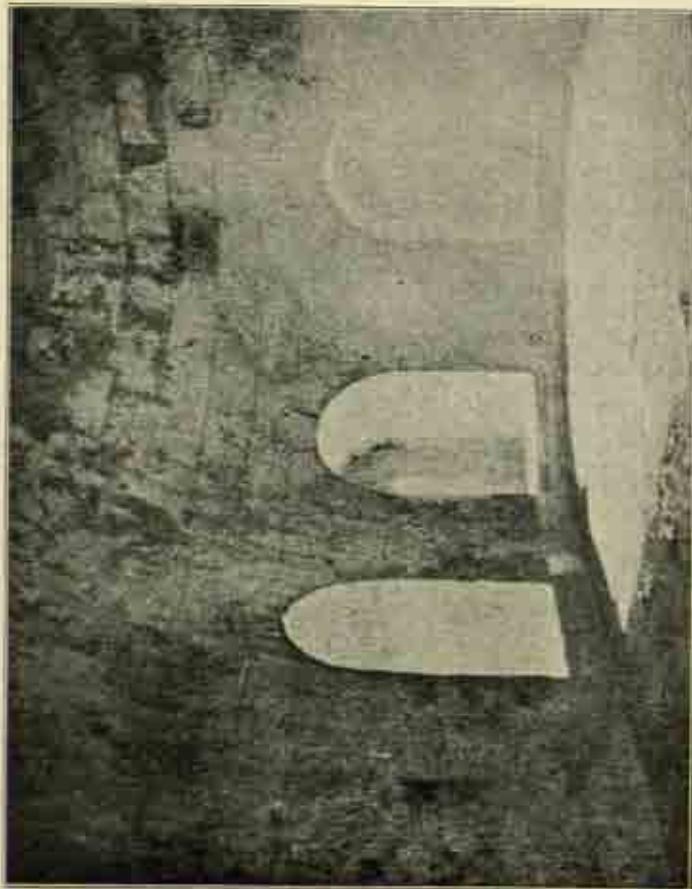


Phot. Creswell.

North wall of Cairo. On the right, ruins of Mosque of el Hakem.

Berchem and Herz Pasha, are all that remain of the original minarets, the upper part of them having been destroyed by the earthquake of 1302 and the whole building much damaged. It was restored in 1303 by an Emir called Beybars-el-Gashenkir who afterwards became Sultan, and whose

own very interesting convent mosque in Sh. El Gamâliéh has a minaret not unlike those of El Hâkem. Apparently, these pylons were built round the lower part to consolidate it, and the pepper-pots⁽¹⁾ were put on instead of the ruined upper storey. Perhaps too, the pylons were intended to form part of the fortifications, for, after climbing the little iron staircase, we

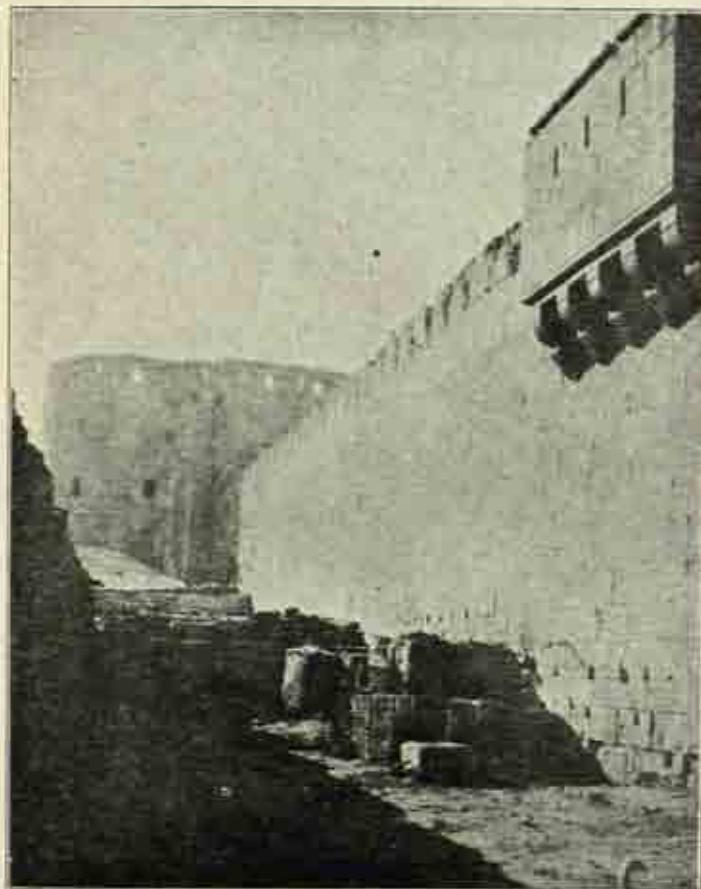


North wall of Cairo A guard-room
Phot. Greville

found ourselves on a level with the top of a fortified wall; we walked out on to a wide rampart with battlements and loop-holes, and here and there a raised bastion containing a sort of guard-room. These bastions look quite modern and each bears a French name inscribed in ordinary characters; those inscriptions were placed there by Napoleon, who partly

(1) This form of summit to a minaret is called a *mabkhârâh*.

restored the fortifications when he occupied Egypt in 1798. The wall we stood on is part of the second great wall built round Cairo; the first was built in 969, when El Azhar was founded, but, being only of unbaked bricks, was not very durable; the third, enclosing the Citadel, was begun by the celebrated Sultan Saladin, in 1172, but never completed.

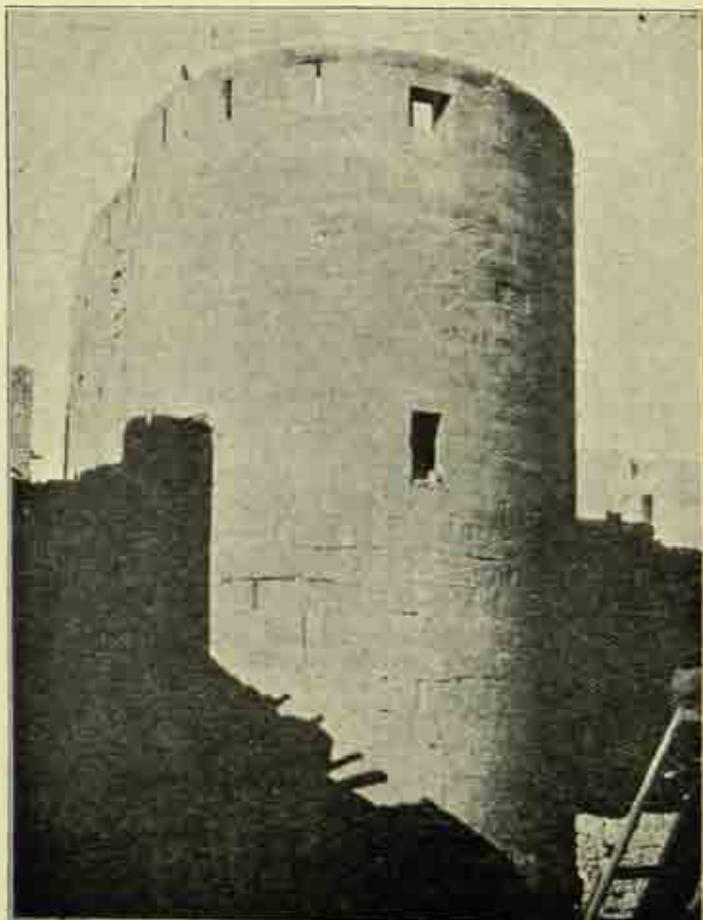


Phot. Creswell.

North wall of Cairo.

This one, and the three great gates which still remain were erected about 1040 by the brilliant General Badr-el-Gamâly. This Badr was Governor of Syria; he marched to Cairo to assist El Mustansir, a grandson of El-Hâkem's, who could not cope with his enemies, both from within and

without. Badi brought some Syrian architects with him, which accounts for the Byzantine style of the fortifications. We wandered over those walls, visited strong guard-rooms, passed over the great gate and looked down into the street below through narrow openings; finally we were led into

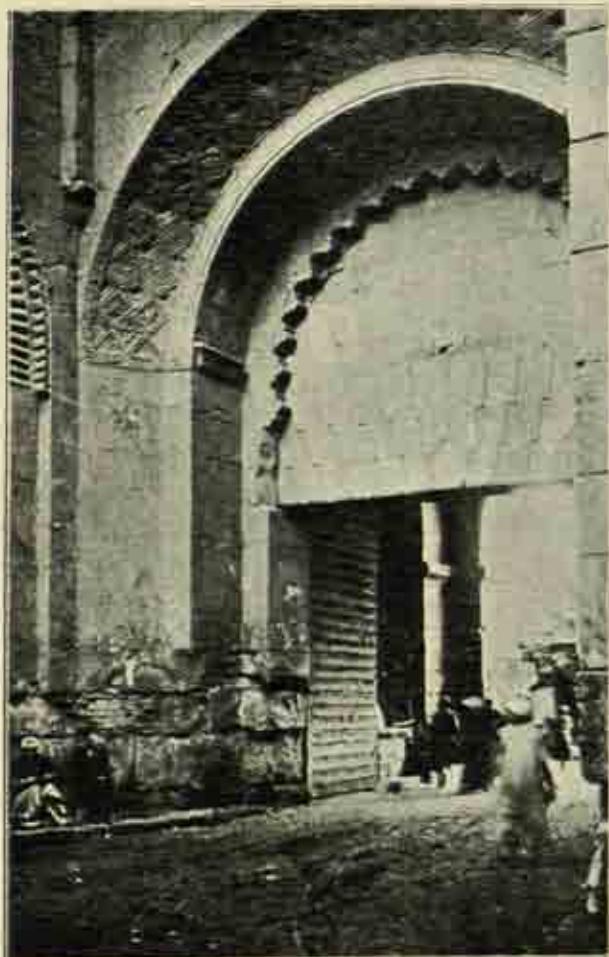


Phot. Creswell.

North wall of Cairo.

a most romantic vaulted passage down a dark staircase, with no light at all in some places and, in others, only the narrow rays which entered through the loop-holes. One could imagine the absolute security of a garrison within this wall before the days of heavy artillery.

The gates are magnificent, and give a wonderful impression of solidity; I have not yet seen the third, Bab-el-Zuweyleh, but, of the two others, Bab-el-Futūh (the gate of Conquests) and Bab-en-Nasr (the gate of Victory).

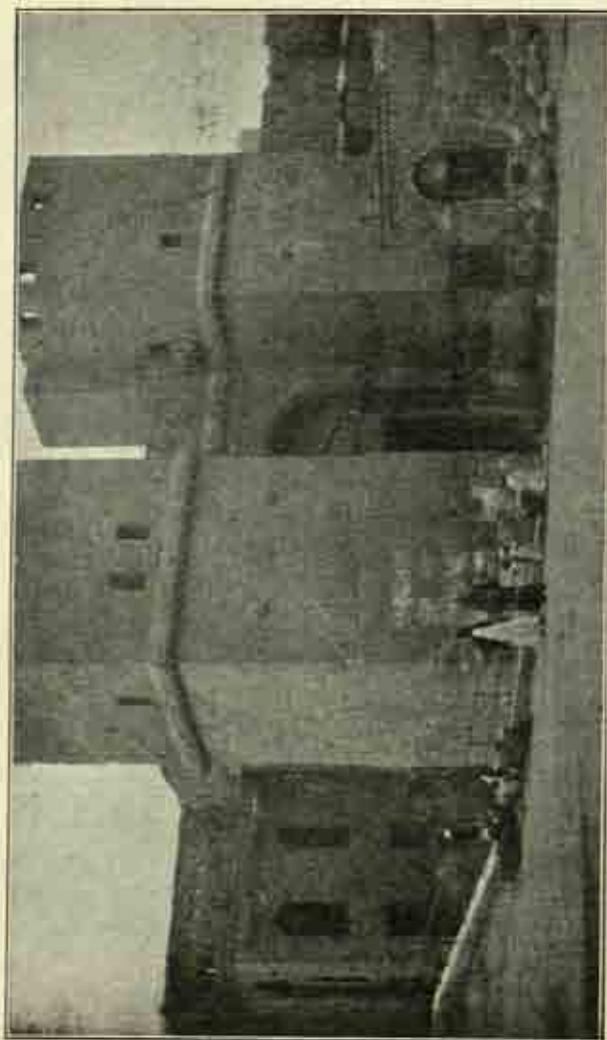


Phot. Wade.

Bab el-Futūh.

or of Succour) I think the former pleased me more. The wall continues westwards of it for some hundred yards or so and then loses itself among sordid modern houses. Towards the East, it continues without a break as

far as the gate of Bab-en-Nasr and some way beyond it. Close to Bab-el-Futūh, near the entrance of the mosque, a small domed building was said by the keeper to contain the tomb of Badr-el-Gamālī himself but H. declared



Phot. Wide.

Bab-en-Nasr.

that it was obviously built at a much later period. Badr was the first of those great Wazirs who ruled Egypt under the nominal authority of the later



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917. (674)

Wade

Minaret of M. of el Hakem

Fatimite Khalifas, themselves mere "rois fainéants". Having defeated the many enemies of El Mustansir with the help of the well-disciplined Syrian troops that he had brought with him to Egypt, he proceeded to consolidate his authority by the wholesale execution of every man who might prove a competitor or a rebel. Having thus cleared the way, he applied himself to the organisation of the Government and the administration of the country. During the twenty years which elapsed until his death, at the age of eighty, prosperity returned to the ruined and desolate land, agriculture and commerce flourished, literature and science were encouraged, hospitals and mosques were built. The *Megids* or Nilometer on Rôdeh Island was repaired and a mosque built near it which has now unfortunately disappeared. Badr was succeeded by his son El Afda, known, like his father by the title of Emir el Guyûsh, Lord of Armies; it was he who built a mosque, now ruined, on the edge of the Moqattam hills, a delightfully picturesque feature in the view⁽¹⁾.

(1) The engraving erroneously entitled "Mosque el Guyûshy" in Stanley Lane-Poole's "Story of Cairo" is not a picture of it but of the mosque of Shâhin Agha el Khaluâty.

LETTER IV.

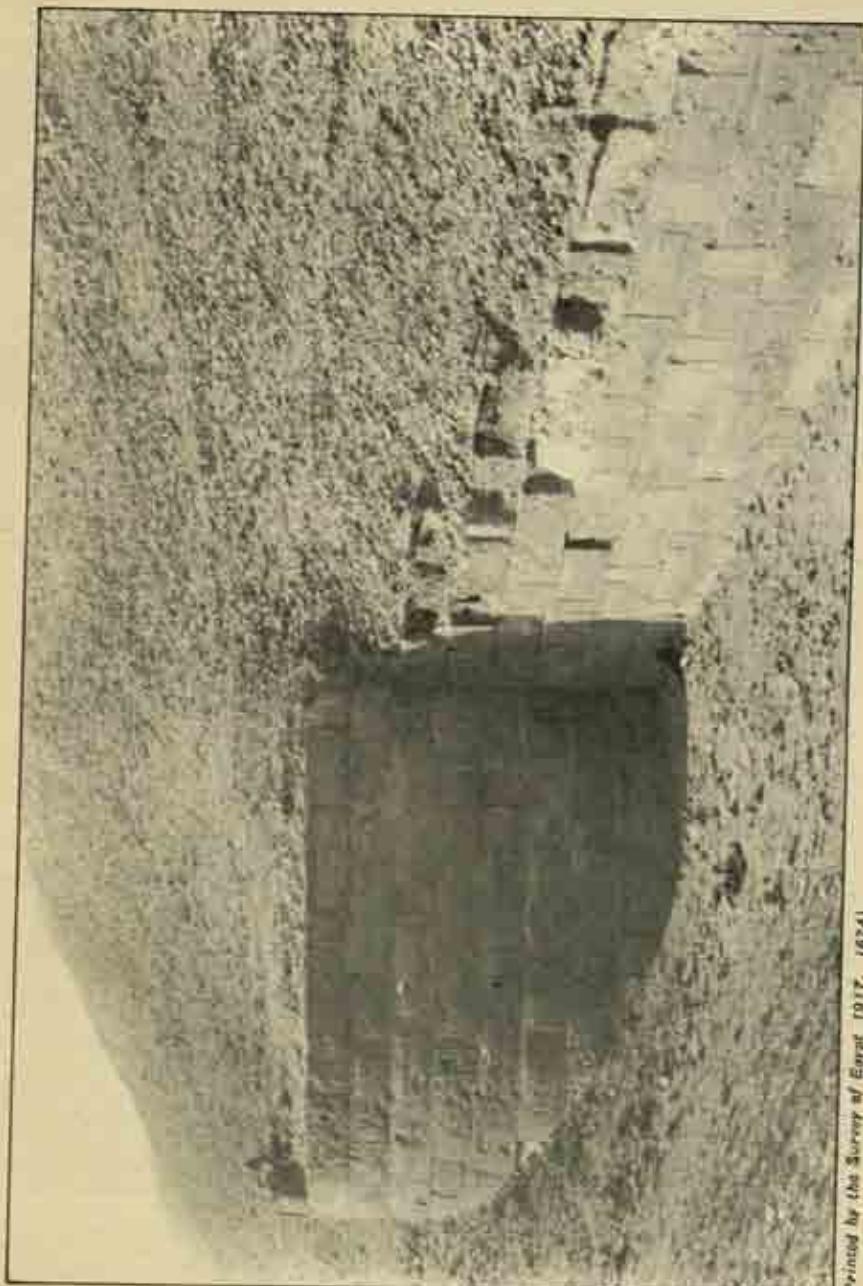
THE CITADEL

A.D. 1176

Joseph's Well. Mosque of En Nässeb Ibn Qalaün. Mosque of Soliman Pasha. Mosque and Palaces of Mohammed Aly.

Of all the mediaeval rulers of Egypt, Saladin alone has the privilege of being remembered by Western readers, and the average man or woman of moderate culture will not cheerfully confess complete ignorance of his name as of that of Ahmed Ibn Tulün, Badr el Gamâly, or Beybars el Bondoqlâry. I will therefore not insult you by relating to you the history of that great and noble knight, one of the most admirable and lovable characters in history. Should you wish to refresh your memory, you will find a delightful précis of his life in Lane-Poole's "Story of Cairo" of which one chapter is fittingly entitled "Saladin's Castle". The spur of the Moqattam, on which Salâh ed Dîn Yûssef ibn Ayûb (to give him his full name) built his great stronghold, had already been utilised by Ahmed Ibn Tulün for the site of his Qubbat el Howâ, or Dome of the Air, but that was only a health resort and had no special military purpose. Salâh ed Dîn's Castle formed part of a scheme of fortification (the vicinity of the Moqattam was no danger in those days when long range artillery was unknown), which included a great wall, meeting and completing Badr el Gamâly's ramparts. The southern wall, which was to include the ruins of the recently destroyed Fostât, never was finished, but there is reason to believe that the northern part was completed and there is now little doubt that the mysterious structure called Burg-ez-Zafer was a bastion of Saladin's wall, the remains of which are being slowly excavated from mounds of refuse in the north-east corner of the present town of Cairo. (see illustration).

The Citadel itself, the Castle of the Mountain (Qâzâ'at el Gebel) was too obviously useful as a stronghold not to be continually inhabited by the Sultans who succeeded Salâh ed Dîn and who perhaps needed it more even in the frequent revolts of their mamelukes than as a defence against outside invaders. It was, however, taken by storm in 1517 by Selim I, who reduced Egypt to a Turkish province and who forced the last of the Abbasside Khalifes to delegate the powers and religious authority of the Khalifes to the Ottoman Sultans. From that moment until the French



C. C. M. A.

Burg ez-Zafar

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Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917 (1674)

(Creswell)

Mosque of Nasser Ibn Qalaun Citadel



occupation in 1798, the Citadel became a large barracks for Turkish troops. The luxurious Turkish palaces that are now used as a military hospital date, I believe, from the time of Mohammed Aly.

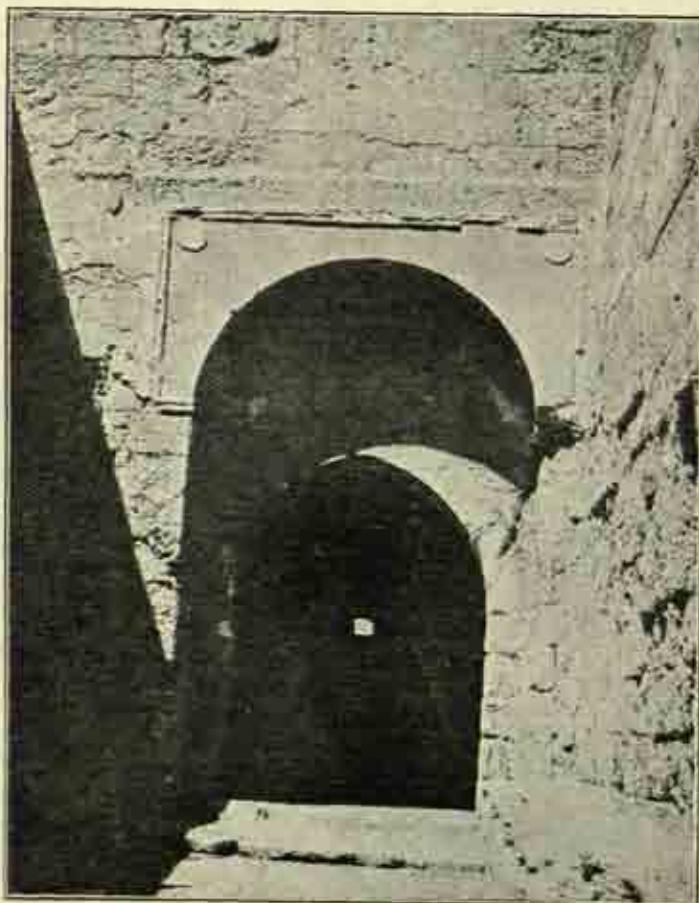
I should advise visitors to the Citadel to find or make some friend amongst the R. A. M. C. officers at the Hospital, under whose privileged guidance many doors are open that are otherwise closed to the ordinary tourist. We were led by a courteous and well-informed friend of H.'s to many spots of the most varied historical and artistic interest.

The views from the Citadel are of course among the very finest in the world. Having already climbed one or two minarets and seen the marvellous panorama of Cairo with the winding, silvery Nile and the distant Pyramids, I was perhaps less struck by the views of the west and south, gorgeous as they are, than by the northern and eastern views, over the Moqattam, all golden in the setting sun, with its quarries and wadys, the ancient Fatimite mosque of El Guyûshy perched on the extreme edge of the rock and, close to it, the fortifications that Napoleon erected to command the town and which were so effectively employed as a threat, in 1882, by General Drury Lowe. To the left, towards the north, lies the necropolis improperly called Tombs of the Khalifes, with its lovely mamelike cupolas and minarets. From our vantage-ground, one of the enormous towers facing the Moqattam, we could distinguish and identify almost every monument in that rich archaeological field.

There is, I believe, a great deal left of Saladin's wall, but we did not have time to explore it and did not see the figure of an eagle which is still to be found on the wall and which is taken to be the badge of Saladin's General and right-hand man, the eunuch Qaraqush (i.e. Black Eagle). — Qaraqush, whose name has been given by the Cairenes to a sort of local Punch and Judy, was a faithful servant to Saladin and directed most of his architectural works in Egypt. When he was taken prisoner at Acca by the Crusaders, his master did not hesitate to pay an enormous ransom for him. It was he who superintended the digging of the "Well of Joseph" by Frankish prisoners, though it does not seem certain whether this well already existed (in which case it might have been ascribed by tradition to the son of Jacob among his many good works as Pharaoh's minister) and was merely cleared of accumulated sand, or whether the unhappy Crusaders actually had to hew it out of the solid rock, the well being called after the Sultan himself, Salâh ed Dîn Yûssef. It is 280 ft deep and the water to be found in it is quite pure and sweet. The bottom used to be reached by winding stairs which have now given way to a simple incline; there is a platform half-way down, where two oxen used to work a *saggieh* or water-wheel with a chain of pots; another *saggieh* took the water up the next stage to the surface of the ground.

Another very interesting relic of Saladin consists in a gateway, Bab

el Mudiarrag or the "Gate of Steps", now unused and not very easily found. An inscription above this gate records the name of the Sultan, with which, with characteristic modesty, he associated that of his faithful Qaraqush and that of his loved brother and heir-apparent, el A'dil Seyf ed Din, the "Saphadin" of the French chroniclers. It was to this Emir that Richard

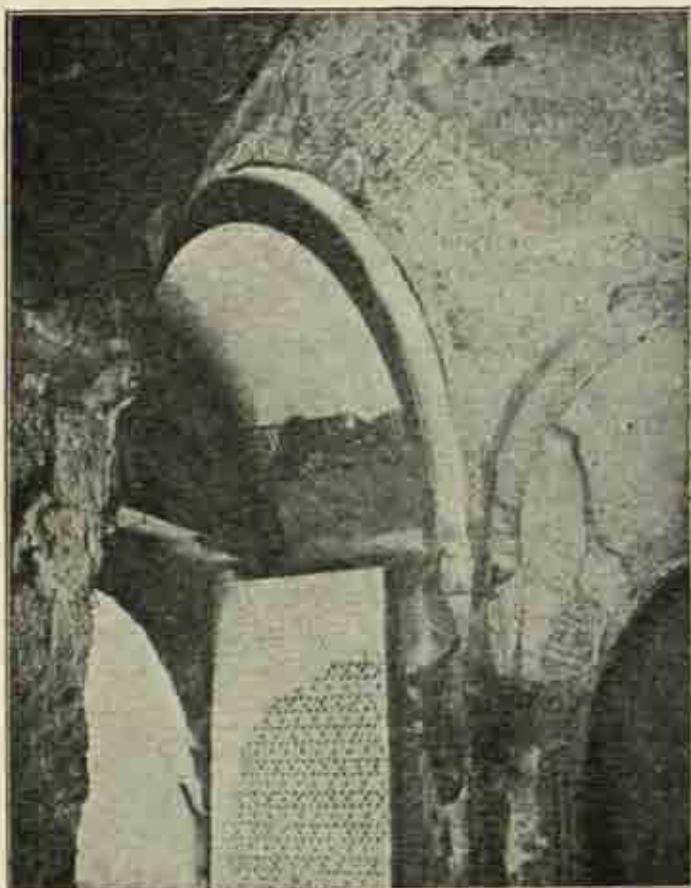


Phot. Creswell.

Bab el Mudarrag. Exterior view.

Coeur de Lion had agreed to give his sister in marriage, this union to be the basis of a lasting peace, when the Christian Bishops, horrified, refused their sanction unless Saladin's brother should abjure Islam. All negotiations then came to an end and hostilities were resumed.

Many beautiful monuments of Saladin's successors were pulled down by Mohammed Aly to make room for his enormous Turkish mosque. M. Casanova, who has made an extensive study of the spot, believes that, already in the time of Beybars el Bandoqdar, a large gateway called Bab el Quila existed where the actual hospital gate now stands.

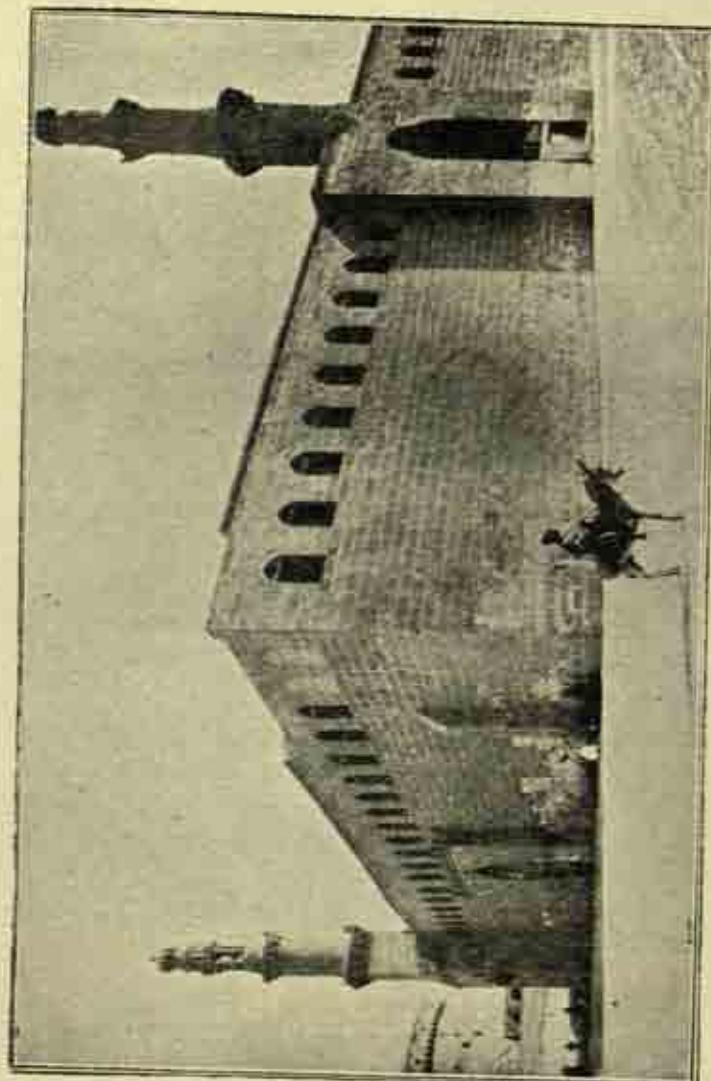


Phot. Cremell

Bab el Mudarras. Interior view.

Close to the big mosque itself, a few black and yellow stones are to be seen, relics of the "Striped Palace" that Mohammed en Nasser built in imitation of that built at Damascus by Beybars. The celebrated "Hall of Joseph", of which many pictures happily remain, is also ascribed by M.

Casanova to En Nâsser, and it is impossible not to be struck by the similarity of architectural design between those pictures and a photograph of the interior of En Nâsser's mosque.



Exterior of Mosque of En Nâsser at Citadel.

We had to procure a special permit to visit this mosque often

erroneously called Qalaūn after Mohammed en Nāsser's father) and we came away full of indignation against the unconscious vandalism of "the authorities". The mosque is used to store what surely might well be housed elsewhere and, apart from possible active injury, the building is being slowly allowed to decay. It is a unique monument of the most artistic period in Cairo, and unlike any other mosque. The exterior, perhaps inspired by its military surroundings, is very severe in its aspect, quite without decoration, save the remains of lovely carved stone balconies to the eastern minaret, but the interior is beautiful. The four iwāns around the open *sahn* still show a forest of fine classic columns, from which spring arches of black and white marble; ten superb Ptolemaic granite shafts supported a dome over the *qibleh* but it fell in A.D. 1521 and nothing remains of it but the pendentives in the corners. There are also appreciable traces of a very beautiful ceiling in octagonal divisions, with charming decorations in green, red-brown and gold over a pale blue ground. The minarets are of a very unusual description, crowned as they are with baldacchino-shaped summits richly decorated with tiles of a plain green colour and girdled with an inscription in faience mosaic of large white letters over a dark-blue ground. The Tartar character that connoisseurs find in their appearance is probably explained by the influence of Mohammed en Nāsser's Mongolian mother and the many Mongolian importations which she brought to Qalaūn's court.

Barqūn's son, Farag, also built a mosque at the Citadel, but no traces of it remain. It seems possible that this was the mosque mentioned by Ibn Iyās of which the cupola fell, destroying the *mihrab* and *minbar*, to the great concern of Sultan Qāitbāy, who, on hearing of the disaster, hastened to the spot in person and forthwith gave orders for repairs.

The next monument in order of date that we visited was the first Turkish mosque built in this country after the conquest, by the Turkish Governor Soliman Pasha (A.D. 1528). It is usually called Sidi Sarīya, and a saint of that name is buried there. The history of it did not seem very clear; it is apparently built on the site of a mosque anterior to the Citadel itself, the mosque of Qusteh, an Armenian on Badr el Gamālī's staff, of whom an inscription remains on a stone; but I own I did not quite grasp the connection with Sarīya, a sort of hermit who lived, I think, in Syria and not in Egypt. However the Moqattam has a great reputation for sanctity and perhaps there has been some confusion between some hermit living in one of its caves and the better known Syrian saint.

Another cenotaph in the same mosque is said to be that of the mamelukes murdered by Mohammed Aly Pasha in 1811, but, as there were over four hundred of them, I doubt whether it be sufficiently capacious. The history of that hecatomb is grim enough. The Pasha invited the whole corps of mamelukes to a feast at his palace in the Citadel and received

them with the utmost cordiality. As they left to return to Cairo, soldiers ambushed behind the walls fell upon them whilst they were descending the narrow défilé leading to the Bab el Azab⁽¹⁾, where there was no room for the crowded horses to turn. Resistance was useless: not one of them escaped, unless the legend is true according to which one Hassan Bey succeeded in galloping his horse to the edge of the terrace near the great mosque and jumping him over. The horse was killed, but the mameluke, only injured, was picked up by some Arabs who helped him to escape. Another, Shahin Bey, reached the hareem terraces and begged in vain for protection: he was seized and decapitated⁽²⁾.

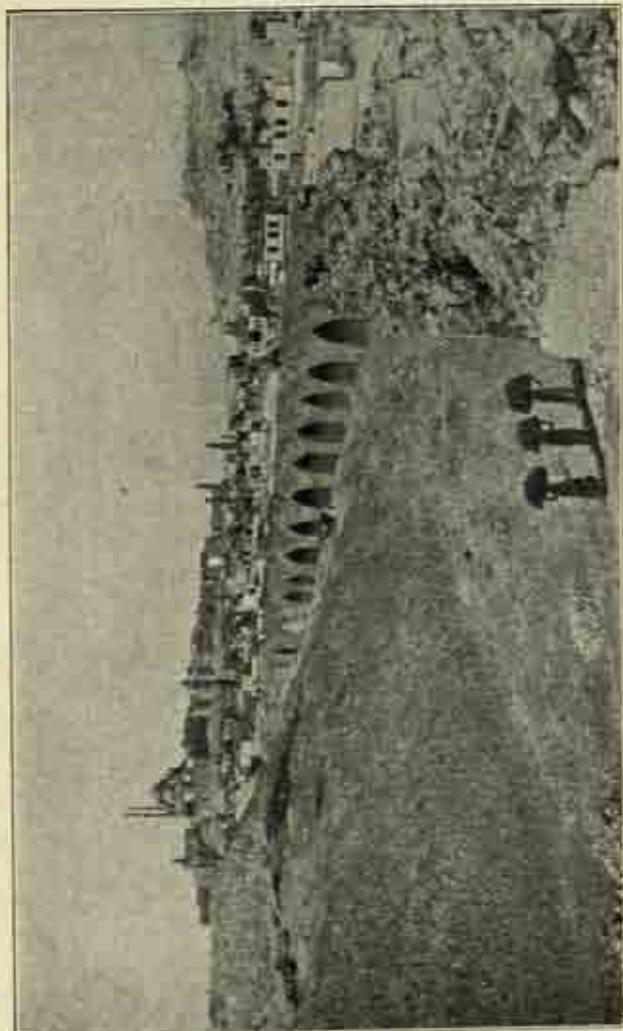
Thus perished the last of that turbulent militia, men whose reckless courage made them a valuable asset to the rulers of Egypt in times of war, but whose uncontrollable ferocity rendered them, in time of peace, a perpetual source of struggle and difficulties and a terror to the unhappy populace. They had in no wise reformed the habits of their mediaeval predecessors and were practically no better than a band of brigands, tolerated because of the alarm with which they inspired successive Governments. Mohammed Aly was well aware that his ambitious schemes could not prosper as long as he had these terrible praetorians to deal with. It has been said that he looked on impassively at the massacre, but that is not the case: he sat alone in his diwan, pale and silent, feeling so faint, when he heard the shots, that he had to ask for some water.

This remarkable man, who, on other occasions, gave proofs of an inflexible will subordinated to a calculating brain, very nearly succeeded in procuring the independence of Egypt and Syria and recent history might have been very different if the Turkish Sultan Abd-el-Medjid had not obtained the help of the European Powers to reduce him to the condition of vassaldom from which he had started. By the treaty of London, in 1840, England, Russia, Prussia and Austria deprived him of Syria, recently conquered by his son Ibrahim, and, by way of compensation, made the Pashalik of Egypt hereditary in his family. France abstained but, by so doing, merely encouraged hopes that she was not prepared to fulfil. Mohammed Aly invariably showed great partiality to the French and, assisted by many individual Frenchmen, introduced European institutions into the country. For instance, he organised an Army, Navy and arsenals on European models, reduced the finances of Egypt to order, gave a new direction to agriculture, making cotton a staple product and introducing or extending other products. In the earlier days of his reign, he had founded many schools and other philanthropic institutions

(1) The massive gateway immediately facing the Midan er Rumeyleh: the two large towers which flank it were built in 1754 by Radwan Katkhoda.

(2) At the same time twelve hundred remaining mamelukes, in different parts of the country, were executed by the Pasha's orders.

which he himself closed or destroyed in his disappointment when he found himself delivered into the hands of the Turkish oppressors by those in whom he had placed his hopes.



Phot. Wade.

Mosque of Mohammed Ali and the Citadel
seen from the South, with Mohammed en Nasser's aqueduct.

His huge mosque is seen to great advantage from a distance when, in its incomparable situation, its two slender minarets seem like the lances of two motionless sentries, mounting guard over Cairo. At close quarters

the crudity and vulgarity of certain details are very striking, but the general effect is rich and luxurious; the columns in the great courtyard are entirely coated with alabaster.

Our kind guide afterwards led us into the palace which is now used as a hospital. It is approached by a charming garden of true Oriental character, with tall palms, vines and creepers hanging from wooden supports and shady corners scented with jessamine. How far better gardens in this style would have harmonised with the splendid buildings of the Midan er Rumeyleh than the conventional lawns and beds which have recently been placed there, in apparent imitation of the gardens of some Riviera hotels! There are some wonderful painted ceilings in this palace, in a style utterly different from that of the old Arab houses; some of them represent landscapes, views of the Bosphorus, &c., in soft colourings, chiefly greys and blues; I have been told that they were the work of a Swiss artist.

The palace contains no less than five or six bath halls, two of which are very remarkable. One of them, which has a very ornamental painted ceiling, has been converted into an Anglican chapel; the curtains behind the altar hide a marvellous *salsabila*: two winged horses, carved in alabaster, or a very transparent white marble, open their mouths through which water once flowed into a succession of graceful vessels, finally to run down a channel of white marble, decorated by carved fishes, into the deep bath in the centre of the hall, now boarded over.

The other is still more remarkable; it is reached by a narrow passage walled in moonlight blue and lighted from above by patches of thick coloured glass. The bath itself is entirely made of white marble and, on entering it, a most striking effect is produced by the contrast between the blue corridor and the radiant white of the pavement and walls of the room. Graceful and very slender alabaster columns rise from the floor to the thick plaster vault with large slabs of coloured glass inserted into it according to a pleasing design. Whilst the glass in the passage is mainly blue and green, the glass in the bath itself is chiefly red and gold colour, of an intensely rich effect in the sunlight.

There is a great deal to see at the Citadel and we found that two afternoons were not nearly enough. If there had been time, we had hoped to see one more mosque, a small Turkish one of the XVIIIth century, built by a Governor, Mohammed Katkhoda, on the site of an older monument. I am told however that it is not particularly interesting and that we did not lose much by postponing our visit to it. I hear also that there are some fine paintings in the "Bijou" palace; in fact it is as well to set apart several days for rambling in this old fortress, rich as it is in interesting associations.



LETTER V.

THE MOSQUE OF EDH DHÄHER

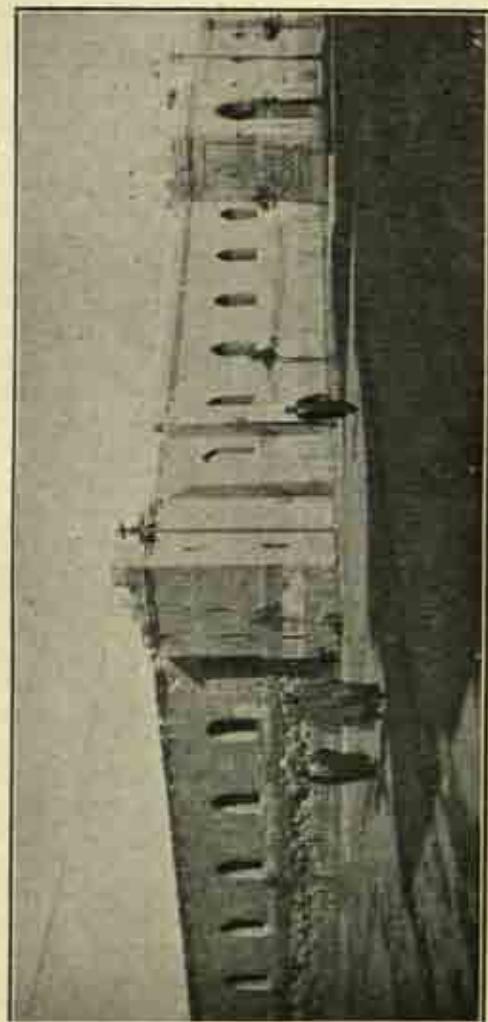
A.D. 1267

THE accompanying photographs represent a building which I had noticed on the way into Cairo from Abbassieh and which, at first sight, I had taken for a ruined fortress. It is extraordinarily like a fort, with its massive walls, battlements and imposing gates, and the illusion is encouraged by the fact that the foot of its walls being on a much lower level than the road, a protecting iron balustrade has been placed along the edge of the latter and a moat effect is produced.

And indeed, this monument was used as a fort during the French occupation, at the time when Napoleon strengthened the old fortifications of Cairo. He called it Fort Sulkowski, after one of his very numerous aides-de-camp. Do you remember that, when I wrote to you about the wonderful wall of Badr-el-Gamâiy, with its fine old gates, Bab-el-Futûh and Bab-en-Nâsîr, I mentioned that some bastions had been restored by Napoleon? Each of them bore a name and I ascertained that they were names of other members of that brilliant bevy of a.d.c.'s who had accompanied him to Egypt. Some of these young men afterwards became very well known, for instance, Louis Bonaparte, Napoleon's brother, whom he made king of Holland and who was the father of Napoleon III; Eugène de Beauharnais, son of the Empress Josephine, for whom his step-father entertained the warmest affection, Lavalette, Junot, Duroc, etc.

But the so-called fort was no other than a mosque, the first mosque, still in existence, built by a Baharite Mameluke, the celebrated Sultan Rokn-ed-Din, Beybars el Bondegdary, hero of the battle of Mansûreh and leader of the brilliant charge in which Saint Louis and his Crusaders, hitherto victorious, were defeated. His princely qualities as a soldier and an administrator won him the admiration of his contemporaries and much has been written of him and of his reign. He was one of the Turcoman Mamelukes whom Sultan Sâleh Negm ed Din had brought from the Ural Mountains to form his bodyguard and who, though loyal to him while he lived, afterwards murdered his unworthy son and chose a monarch from

among themselves. Beybars assassinated his predecessor, a crime which apparently in no wise burdened his conscience; his sins ultimately found



Reproduced from "The Sphynx."

Mosque of Edh Daher. General view.

him out, however, for he died, after a reign of seventeen years, through drinking by mistake a poisoned cup prepared by himself for another.

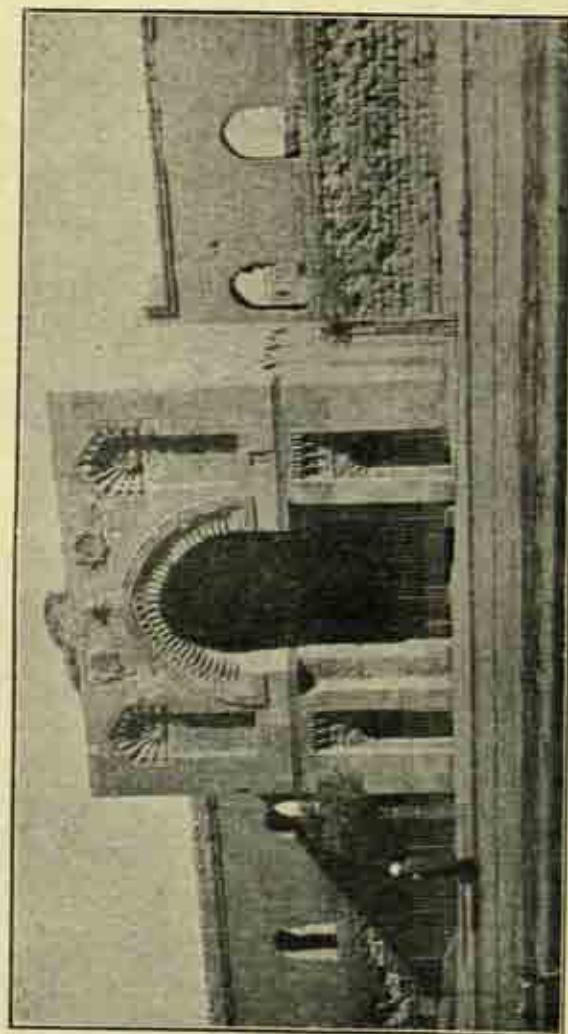
A great many important events took place in Egypt and in Syria during his time. He vanquished and drove away the great Tartar invader, Hülaku, who ranks in history between Gengis-Khan and Timurlen; he restored in Cairo the spiritual authority of the Abbasside Khalifas, closed evil houses and hashish dens and destroyed the last of the famous Assassins, a brotherhood of brigands, the terror of the Middle Ages. During a terrible famine in 1261, he instituted shelters for the poor where food was distributed at his expense, opened the State granaries to the public and procured wheat from Syria and other places.

Such were his powers of organisation that he may well be looked upon as the founder of the Mameluke Empire in Egypt, which lasted, in spite of the incapacity of some of his successors and the irrepressible turbulence of their court, until the Turkish invasion in 1517. To quote Stanley Lane-Poole: "To him is due the organisation of the Mameluke army, the rebuilding of a navy of forty war galleys, the allotment of feofs to the Emirs and soldiers, the building of causeways and bridges and digging of canals in various parts of Egypt. He strengthened the fortresses of Syria and garrisoned them with Mamelukes; he connected Damascus and Cairo by a postal service of four days, and used to play polo in both cities within the same week."

Not only was he remarkable for his prowess at polo, but also as a swimmer, for he is credited with having swum across the Nile without doffing his armour, an almost incredible feat. Many interesting stories are told of him which do more credit to his extraordinary capacity and activity than to his heart. In the years of exile and disgrace that preceded his accession to the throne of Egypt, Beybars had left his wife in the fortress of Karak under the protection of Fatâh ed Din; the latter abused his friend's trust and outraged the guest confined to his care. Beybars, having become Sultan, lost no time in hurrying to Karak with a large force. This stronghold was impregnable, but the wily Mameinke did not hesitate to lay a trap for Fatâh ed Din, who, having fallen into it, was delivered to the incensed Princess to be beaten to death by her women.

Having taken by force of arms and sacked the town of Antioch, in Syria, he wrote announcing the event to the Prince of Antioch, Bohemond, one of the Crusaders—who had been away at the time—describing the horrors which had taken place: "thy knights trodden under the hoofs of the horses . . . thy palaces ransacked . . . thy ladies sold at four for a dinar . . . thy Churches demolished . . . thy garbled Gospels hawked before the sun . . . thy foe, the Muslim, treading thy Holy of Holies . . . etc." and concluded with grim sarcasm "this letter tells thee that God watches over thee to prolong thy days inasmuch as in these latter days those wert not in Antioch! . . . a live man rejoiceth in his safety when he looketh upon a field of slain . . . As not a man hath

escaped to tell thee the tale, we tell it thee." Lastly, let me quote Lane-Poole once more: "Beybars was exceptionally active in the discharge of his royal

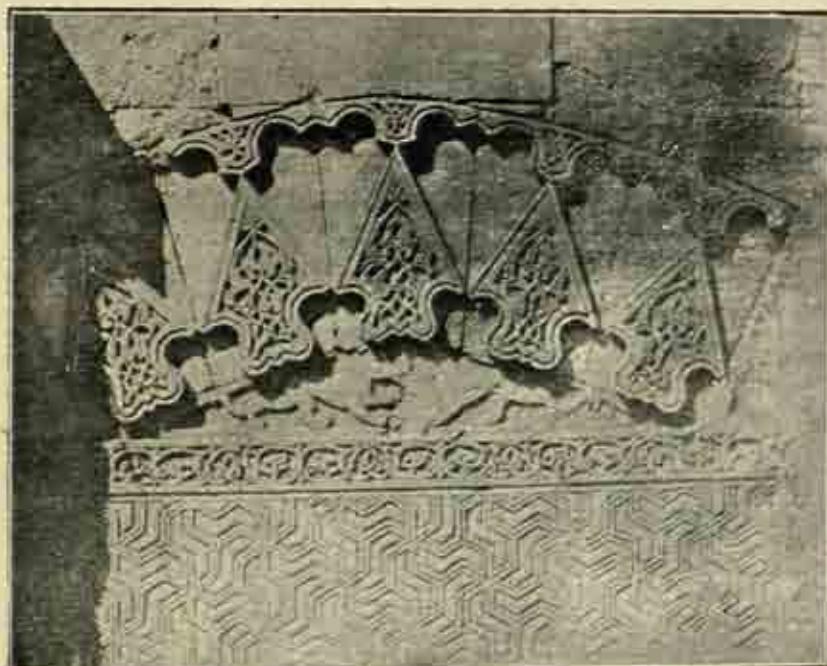


Reproduced from "The Sphinx."

Mosque of Edh Dhaher. West Porch.

functions and was indefatigable in making personal inspections of the forts and defences of his empire. Once he left his camp secretly and made a

minute inspection of his kingdom, in disguise, returning before his absence had been found out by his troops." He took the title of Edh-Dhâher (the Illustrious) on ascending the throne, and his beautiful mosque is usually called by that name. He had previously built another, a college mosque



Phot. Crestwell.

Ornament from ruined college-mosque Edh Dhâheriyeh in Sûq en Nahassin showing lions of Sultan Beybars.

that Maqrizi calls Edh Dhâheriyeh, of which nothing remains now but a few fragments¹¹). It was built in the place called Beyn el Qasreyn, (Between the two Palaces) on the site known as the Tent Hall, where the celebrated Golden Gate once stood. Beybars bought the ground from a Hanafy Sheykh,

(11) It was demolished in 1874 in order to cut the broadway from the Sûq en Nahassin to the Beyt el Qâdy and it is probable that some of the material, including a fine bronze door, was used by M. de Saint Maurice for the lovely Arabesque house which is now the French Diplomatic Agency.

a teacher in the adjoining college of Sâlehh Negm ed Din. The building was completed within two years (1261-1263) and Maqrizi lays stress upon the remarkable fact that, by the Sultan's orders, all who had laboured at this college were paid. Each of the four iwans of the madrassah was reserved for one congregation, the south for the Shâfeyy, the North for the Hanafy.



Phot. Gresswell.
Mosque of Edh Dhâher. South Porch.

the East for the People of the Hadith (tradition) and the West for Readers of the Coran. When, a few years later, he decided to build his mosque outside the walls, Maqrizi relates that he went to his madrassah and held converse with the Hanafites and then with the Shâfeites before talking the matter over with his son and choosing some foremen to direct the building operations.

Unfortunately the present occupation has not been less unscrupulous than Bonaparte showed himself in his treatment of Beybars' grand old mosque; for years it was used as a slaughterhouse and is now a bakery, an even more deplorable destination as far as the preservation of the building is concerned. It is to be hoped that it may one day be restored, at least sufficiently to prevent the decay from going further, as has been done for that magnificent ruin, Ahmed Ibn Tulūn's mosque.

Enough of it remains to delight art lovers. The plan is quadrangular, after the style of Ibn Tulūn and El Hākem, with an immense open courtyard and four cloistered liwāns. The sanctuary had six rows of arches, supported by brick piers whilst the two others boasted but two. Beautiful inscriptions run along the arches, as is the case in the small portions that remain of the original building of El Azhar, and there are traces of lovely open work plaster windows. The three portals are handsomely, though very soberly decorated with Fatimite niches and medallions in the same style as the façade of Sāleḥ Negm ed Dīn's college mosque. From old chroniclers' accounts, the mosque was once very elaborately ornamented, Beybars having procured rich marbles from the Christian Churches in the Delta. He also brought some marble pavements and some carved wood for his ceilings from the Citadel of Jaffa which he had lately conquered. Pieces of a fine bronze door have found their way to the South Kensington Museum: they include the central ornament, a fourteen-pointed star with the figure of an animal in the middle of it. This animal is apparently meant for a lion without a mane, perhaps a panther, for the name Beybars means Prince Panther in the Turcoman language, and the Sultan evidently used it as a badge or coat of arms. Another Rokn ed Dīn Beybars reigned in Egypt about forty years later: Beybars El Gāshenkir; his Khanqeh in El Gamaliyah is one of the most interesting monuments of the time. The minaret of it is capped by a *Mabkhareh* which recalls the minarets of el Hākem, restored by the same Emir before he became Sultan.



LETTER VI.

THE MURISTĀN OF SULTAN QALĀŪN

A.D. 1282 - 1284

Mausoleum of Sultan Mohammed en Nâsser Ibn Qalâün

A.D. 1298

IT is probable that most tourists have seen Qalâün's tomb-mosque and Muristân, at any rate from the outside, for these two buildings, with Mohammed en Nâsser's and Sultan Barqûq's mosques, are close to one entrance of the Khan el Khalî, the celebrated Cairo bazaars. The three together form a beautiful example of what is called "Mameluke" architecture and the date of their building marks the apogee of artistic production in this country.

The word Mameluke, meaning slave or rather "owned" was only applied to a special and very superior class of slaves, young men from the North who were chosen for their strength and beauty and bought in order to form a military body-guard for the Sultan. They used to embrace the Mohammedan religion and to attain the very highest ranks either in the army or in the Sultan's household.

Qalâün was one of those for whom the last Ayyûbîte Sultan had built a palatial barracks in the island of Rôdeh and who were in consequence, known by the name of Baharites (i.e. from the river). Being of an unusually fine physique, he had been bought for the high price of 1,000 dinars of gold, and he advertised this fact, which gratified his vanity, by calling himself El Eifî⁽¹⁾. His accession to the throne did not reflect great credit on him, for, having been made Regent to a seven-year-old Sultan, he deposed the child, shut him up in the Syrian fortress of Karak and took the throne for himself. Though on the whole his reign was a benevolent one, he once allowed himself an act of sanguinary revenge against the inhabitants of Cairo who had refused to obey some decree of his. The whole town was given over to his ferocious body-guard, Mamelukes like himself, the innocent

(1) Eif means 1,000 in Arabic.

and the guilty alike were massacred, and, for three days, the streets were streaming with blood and blocked with corpses.

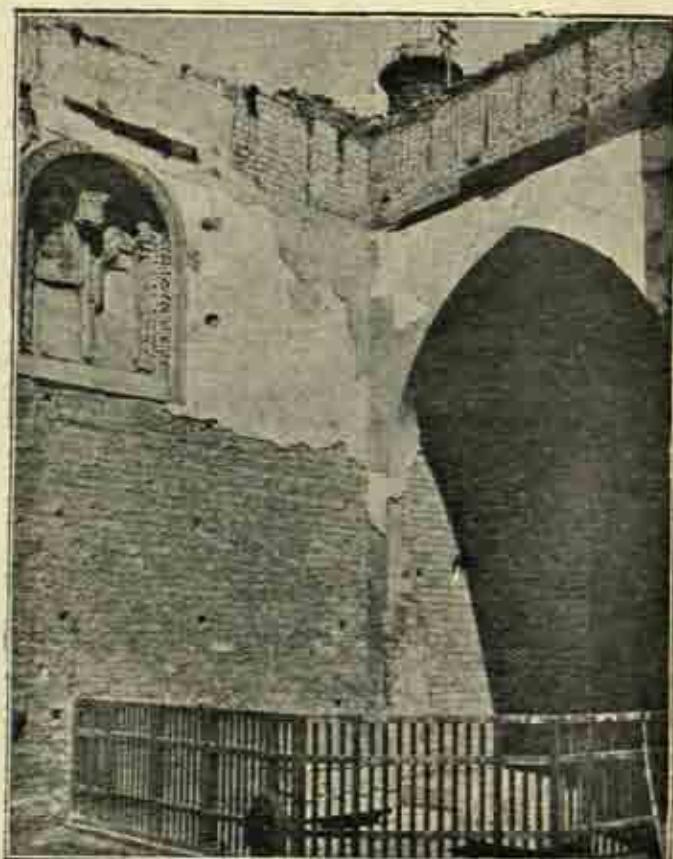
At last the Ulema succeeded in appeasing the Sultan's fury and he repented. In token of his repentance, he built his splendid *Muristān*, a hospital destined for the poor. This at least is the story related by Marcel, the learned French historian: the celebrated Maqrizi gives us other details which are perhaps not incompatible with the above. According to him, Qalaūn, having become very ill in Syria, was much relieved by the drugs and medical attention of some physicians from the dispensary founded at Damascus by Nasr ed Dīn Shāhid. He visited this institution after he was cured and decided to build a similar one in Cairo. The site he chose was that of the former Fatimite Emerald Palace (*Qasr ez Zumurrud*) and was occupied by the house of a noble lady. He dispossessed her of it, giving her another palace by way of compensation, and the building operations were begun under the direction of the Emir Sangar esh Shugāy, a stern and cruel man. Slaves, fellahs and prisoners were forced to labour on the edifice, building materials were brought from the Pyramids and from the citadel which Sāleḥ Negm ed Dīn had built at Rōdeh and which was pulled down for the purpose. Whilst the foundations were being made two large brass chests were found, filled, the one with gold and the other with precious stones, a treasure which would have been sufficient to pay for the expenses incurred. Though the building was intended for the poor and included a beautiful mosque, it was a very long time before the people of Cairo consented to go there to pray: they said that it could not be agreeable to God to worship in a place which had been erected by forced labour, with materials stolen from other buildings, on an ill-gotten piece of land. For, when the Princess had been ejected from the Palace, her women had been scattered and there had been great scandal in the town.

Very little remains now of this wonderful building which once contained a complete university of medical science: in addition to the sick-rooms or wards for ordinary male patients, there was a whole section reserved for women, cells for lunatics, lecture rooms, professors' and surgeons' operating theatres, even a spring had been found in the ground and a carefully canalised stream from it flowed through the building. (See illustration).

Masons were at work when I visited the place, and I am told that the *Waqfs*, a religious and philanthropic foundation, are building an eye-hospital for the poor on the site of the *Muristān*. Indeed, this country is full of various eye-diseases and an eye-hospital in the centre of the town must do excellent work. It seems that this is to take the place of a much smaller building in the neighbourhood which is full to overflowing, the yard at consulting hours being so densely packed with out-patients that it is difficult for the medical attendants to push their way in and out of the building.

Qalaūn built himself a mausoleum adjoining his hospital. This is one

of the most admirable monuments in Cairo; most of it is in a good state of preservation, and the rest has been carefully, though perhaps a little gaudily, restored⁽¹⁾.

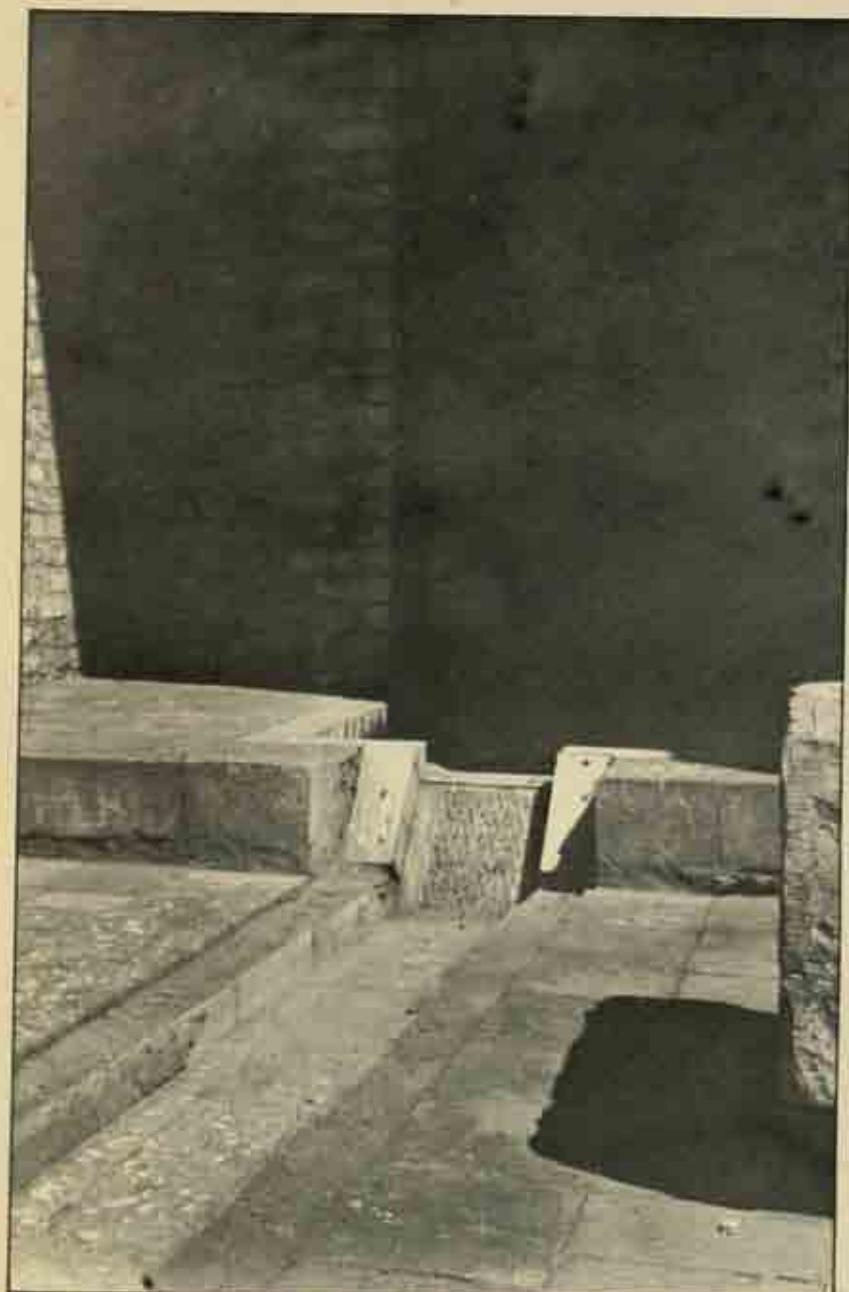


Phot. Creswell.

Muristan of Qalnun. East Liwān.

The cupola is unfortunately gone, but the four splendid granite columns

(1) As is the rule with restorations carried out by the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes*, an Arabic inscription records the date and extent of the restoration.



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1911. 1074

(Creswell)

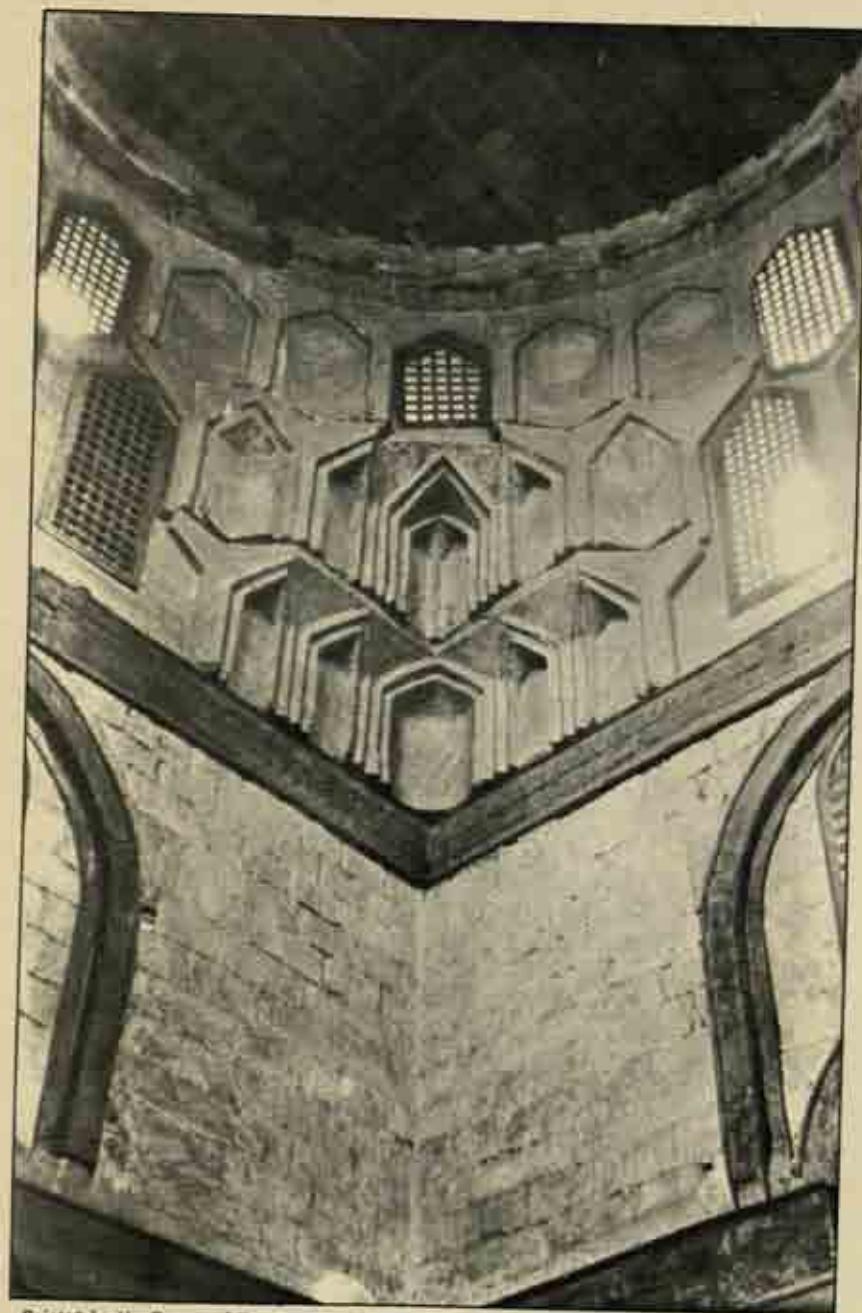
Muristan of Qalaün



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1937. 15741

(Creswell)

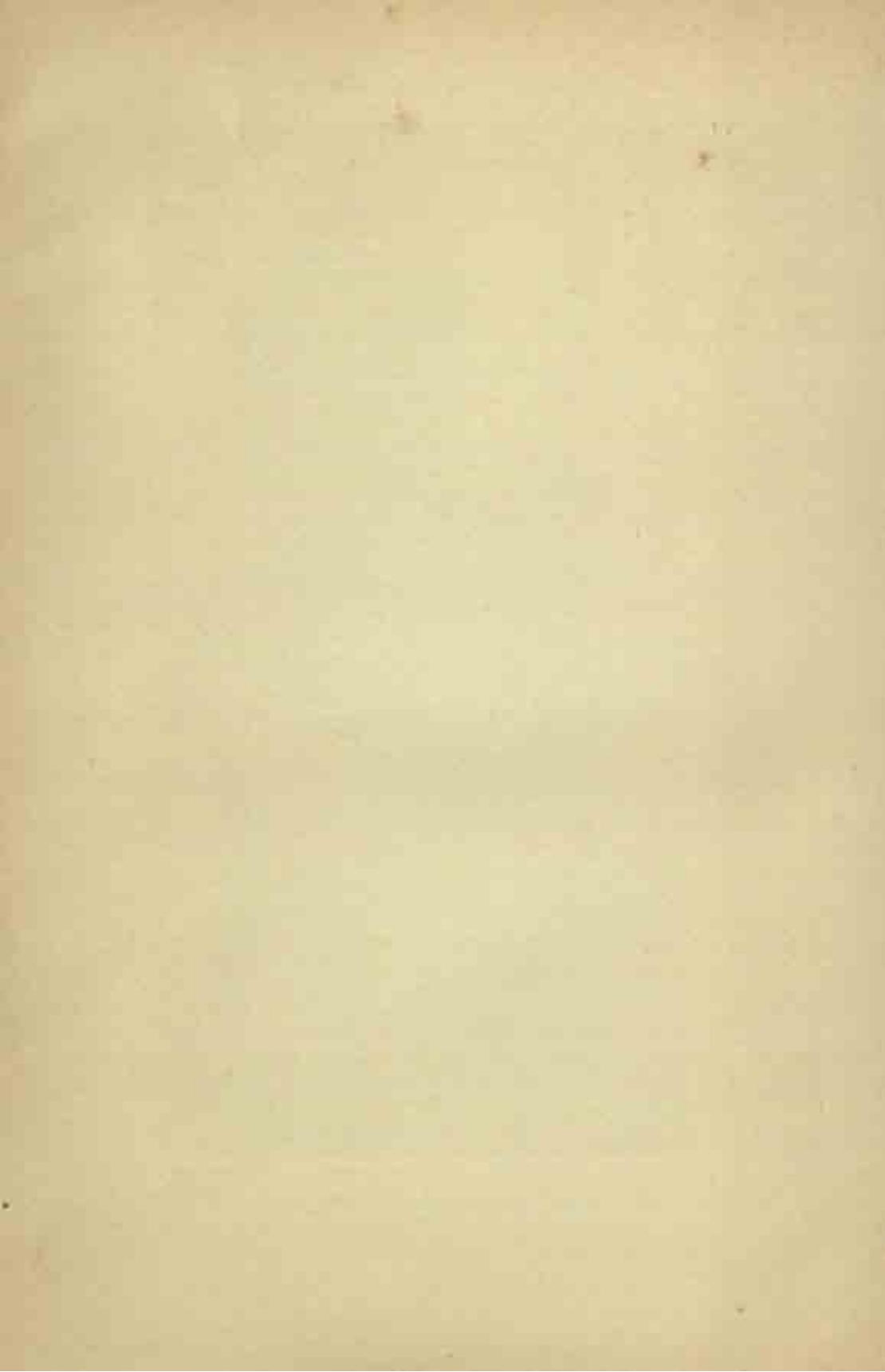
Mosque of Nasser ibn Qalaun (intra muros)



Printed by the Survey of Egypt, 1917. (674)

(Creswell)

Mosque of Nâsser Ibn Qalaûn (intra muros)



and the four rectangular pillars on which it once rested are still there, and the latter are decorated with unsurpassed mosaic panels, as are also the walls of the funeral chamber. The sarcophagus, with its fine carved wood-work, stands in the middle of the hall, surrounded by a massive screen of mushrabieh. There is also a richly decorated ceiling and a prayer-niche of the rarest beauty.

Qalaün died in 1290 after an eleven years' reign. Not only did he leave various charitable foundations, but the wild birds of Cairo also experienced his bounty, and it was he who placed in several mosques those earthenware bowls filled with grain which are still to be seen. His own name means "Duck" in the Turcoman language and birds often form part of the decoration of wooden panels etc. dating from his reign. He had looked upon his eldest son Aly as his successor, but the latter predeceased him by four years, and sorrow is said to have hastened the Sultan's death.

This young prince was the hero of one of the few love stories that have come down to us from those bellicose times. On the occasion of the marriage of his father with a Syrian Princess, the boy caught sight of one of the ladies who had come to the wedding feast and fell so violently in love with her that he seemed about to die. She was the daughter of a man called Nukai and already married to the Emir Ketbogha. The Sultan, alarmed at his son's love-sick condition, succeeded in persuading the husband to repudiate his wife, thus freeing her to marry Prince Aly. Beauty was apparently frequent in her family, for another daughter of Nukai was afterwards married to Prince Khalil who, at Aly's death became Qalaün's heir. I have read two entirely different accounts of Khalil's death, one of which related his murder as being the work of an unfaithful wife, but I do not know whether the wife in question was the sister of the beautiful Princess Mankabek. His mausoleum, in the Sharia El Ashrāf, presents some remarkable features but is unfortunately very dilapidated.

Almost immediately after his accession, Khalil declared a holy war against the Franks, who had by that time lost every stronghold in Syria except Acca which they still held. Khalil besieged and took Acca in spite of a desperate resistance; the town was pillaged and the inhabitants massacred. Several buildings were destroyed, amongst others a church dedicated to St Michael of which the marble porch was taken to pieces and brought to Cairo, where it was put together again and used for the mosque of Sultan Mohammed en Nāsser Ibn Qalaün, next to that of his father. The startling contrast between that pure Gothic portal and its Saracenic setting makes one realise the strong individuality of Moslem architecture. Mohammed en Nāsser did not wait long before succeeding his brother, for the latter was murdered three years after his accession.

Nāsser was only nine years old at that time and it was to be expected that he should not be allowed to reign in peace. His own Regent, the

above mentioned Emir Ketbogha, deposed him at the end of a year, shut him up in the fortress of Karak in Syria and himself assumed the crown. His usurped reign was marked by plagues, famine, wars and an invasion of Syria by the Tartars, a ferocious people. Ketbogha was deposed and



Reproduced from "The Sphinx"

Mosque of Sultan Mohammed en Nasser
Gothic Porch.

exiled, other usurpers succeeded him and were murdered and the young Sultan, who was now aged 15, was recalled from Karak by an assembly of Emirs and replaced on his throne. After three prosperous and successful years, a fresh era of disasters fell upon the country. A terrible earthquake (1302) destroyed towns and villages, floods, pestilence and famine followed

the turbulent Emirs left very little power to the Sultan but constantly fought among themselves, and the young Mohammed, discouraged and alarmed for his own safety, determined to go once more into exile. He announced that he was starting on the Holy Pilgrimage, and left Cairo with a large escort. Having reached Katak, he laid hold of the treasure, fortified the place and forwarded his letters of abdication to the Emirs.

Two years later, he repented and returned to Cairo, whence his successor, Beybars el Gashenkir, fled and the Mamelukes willingly submitted to him. He reigned yet 33 years more, in peace and prosperity, and finally died of grief, as his father had done before him, at the premature death of his favourite son, the Emir Anuk. Eight other sons succeeded him in turns.

His reign marks the highest standard reached by Moslem art, and no less than thirty mosques, of which about twenty remain, were erected in his time. It is melancholy to note that the Sultan's own two mosques, this one and that on the Citadel, should be among the least well cared for; his Mausoleum, besides the Christian porch, presents some wonderful plaster work, on the minaret and over the prayer niche. The funeral chamber itself⁽¹⁾ has been despoiled of every kind of ornament but students of Saracenic architecture will find it an interesting example of the ingenious way by which a transition was effected from the square of the base to the circle from which the dome started. In mosques of a later period, the stalactites in the corners by means of which this transition was managed were far more numerous and more complicated, in fact became an ornament rather than a structural device.

(1) Said by some authors not to contain Nasser's own remains, but those of his mother and of his son Anuk.

LETTER VII.

THE MOSQUE OF SULTAN HASSAN

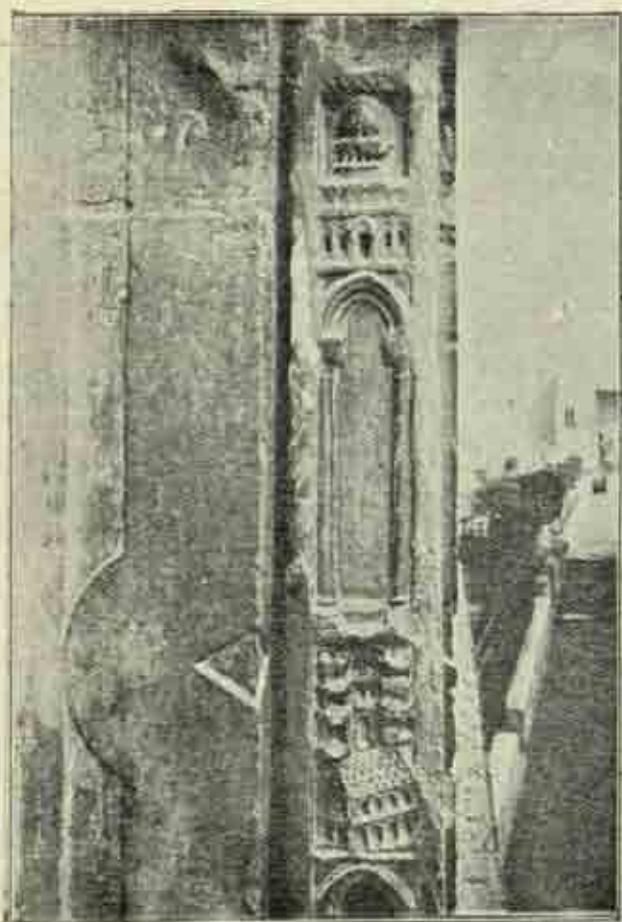
A.D. 1347-1351

Palace of the Emir Yushbak.

THE mosque of Sultan Hassan is extremely well-known and much has been written about it, even in guide books. It is very easy to find, standing as it does immediately below the Citadel, opposite the recently completed and very gorgeous mosque of Er Rifaây, known to the English visitors as the "Coronation Mosque".

It was built about 1350 a.d. by the seventh of Mohammed en Nâsser's eight sons, who all occupied his throne in turns. Hassan, who was only a boy at the time of his accession, was enabled to reign nearly four years by the skill and capacity of a Regent, but he was deposed at the end of that time, thrown into the Citadel prison and superseded by his younger brother. He had languished in confinement for three years, when fresh intrigues among the Emirs, with some of whom he had remained in communication, brought about his release and he recovered the crown, the brother who had dispossessed him taking his place in the dungeon. After a reign of nearly seven years, he was overthrown once more and perhaps put to death. Certain Arab historians state that he escaped to Damascus and disappeared, others that he was tortured in Cairo for days until death put an end to his sufferings, and I do not know whether he was really buried in the tomb erected for him in the funeral chamber of his mosque. It is written of Hassan that, unlike other Mameluke Sultans, who had always shown a great *esprit de corps*, he disliked the Mamelukes as a class and, whenever he could, appointed men of native Moslem descent to the various post and dignities usually appropriated by the Turcoman Emirs. He also detested the Copts and had sworn to exterminate them. However, he allowed a Coptic architect to build his great mosque and one pillar of it, on the

western side of the porch, shows a small carved image that is generally taken to represent a Christian church. A legend relates that, after the mosque was finished, the Sultan ordered the architect's right hand to be

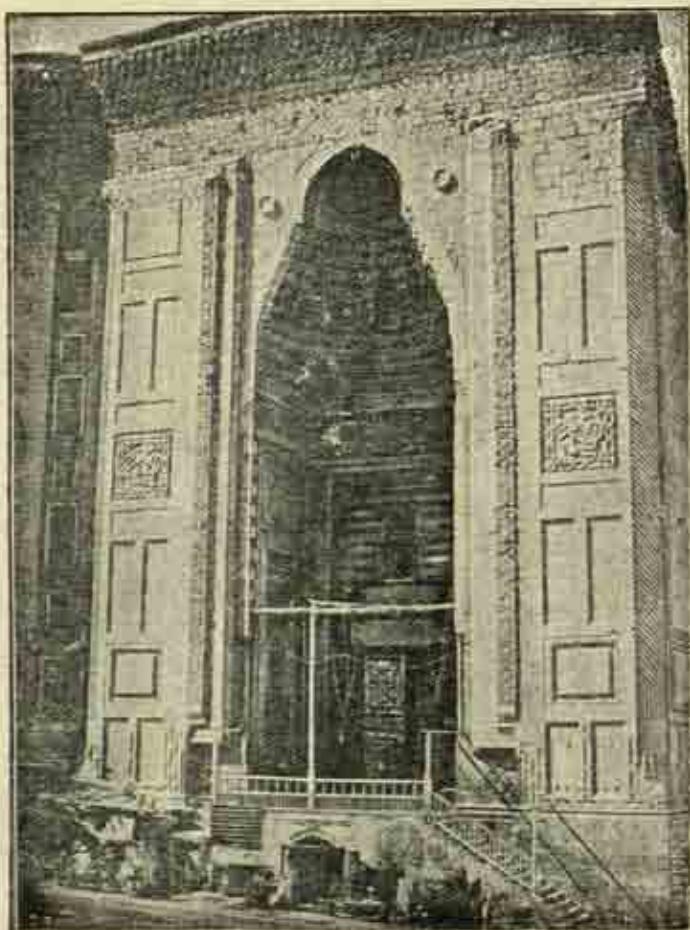


Phot. Creswell.

Mosque of Sultan Hassan
Carved pillar on west side of Porch.

cut off, so that he should never create another masterpiece to rival it, but this is evidently not true for the mosque was not completed until two years after Hassan's death.

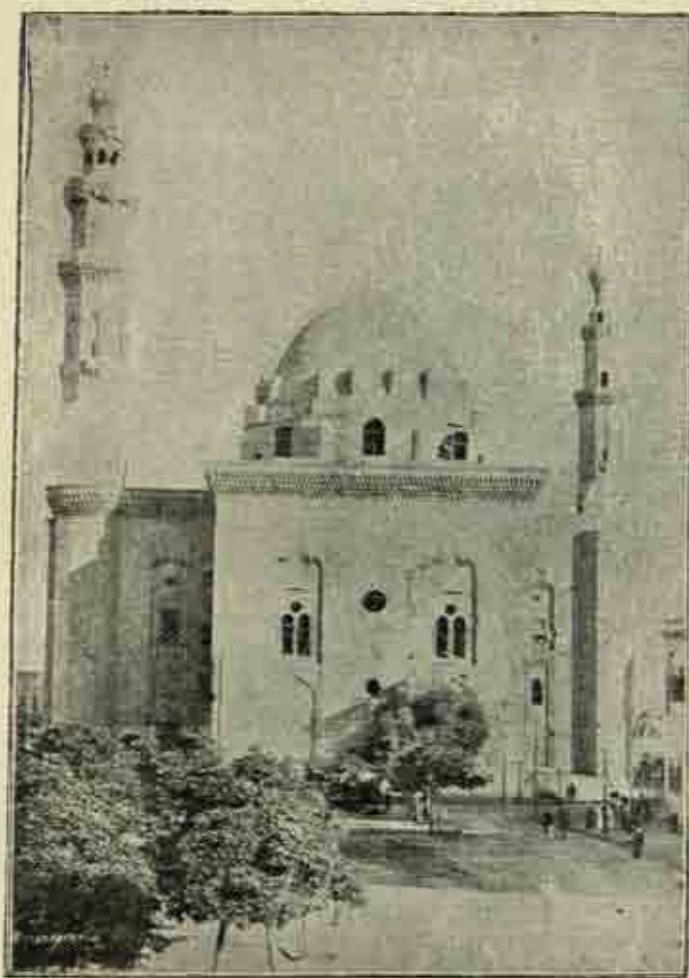
Perhaps no monument of Arab architecture has been more universally admired than this splendid mosque, which is indeed remarkable for its grandiose proportions and majestic beauty. Its most striking exterior



Mosque of Sultan Hassan. Porch.

aspect is, to my mind, that which faces the Mohammed Aly street, showing the extraordinary height of its walls, crowned by a fine stalactite corniche,

and the elegant porch so artistically planned as to be in perfect harmony with the rest of the edifice. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of



Mosque of Sultan Hassan. East Façade.

the dome, or of the northern minaret, a small and mean-looking object compared to its magnificent pendant on the south side. These two minarets

were intended to be alike and, in fact, I believe there were to be two more on the two other corners, but one of them fell after being finished and is said to have crushed two hundred school children in its fall. The porch was walled up in the time of Sultan Barqūq and access to the mosque forbidden as it was found that its great strength and its position, facing the Citadel, caused it too frequently to be used as a fortress by insurgents.

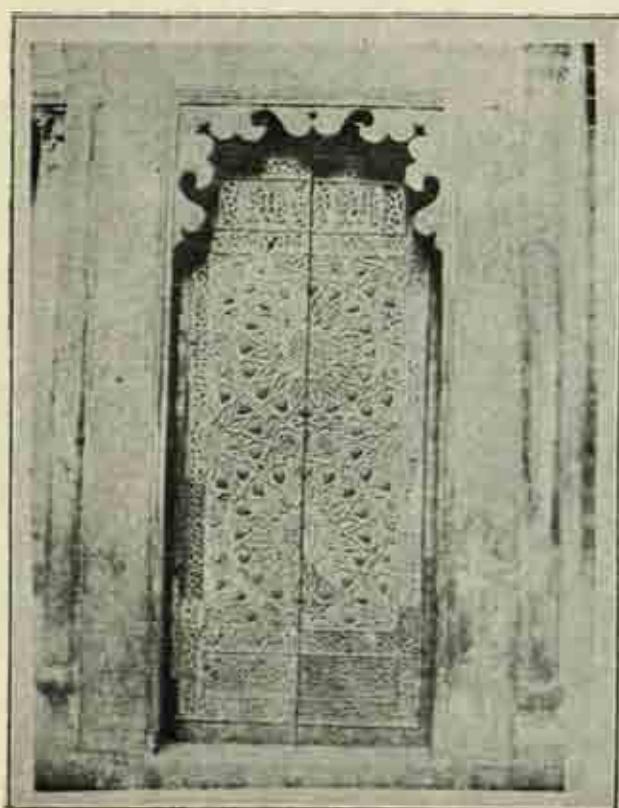
The base of the northern minaret is studded with cannon-balls which are often attributed to Napoleon, but without much real probability. As a matter of fact, Napoleon is often unjustly accused by ignorant guides and others of damage and depredations of which he was entirely innocent, whilst many benefits brought to this country by the French occupation of 1798 are left unacknowledged.

Napoleon won some brilliant victories over the Mamelukes; these were descendants, or, at any rate, congeners of the XVth century Sultans' fierce body-guard and composed an army of the most dashing cavalry in the world. They were used to carrying every thing before them and were surprised and disappointed to find that they could do nothing against the French infantry in square formation. After the victory at Embâbeh, usually called the Battle of the Pyramids, had made him master of Cairo, General Bonaparte applied himself to earn the good-will of the Egyptians themselves, their Ulema, sheykhs and imâms. By making a great show of respect towards their religion and of consideration of their national and religious customs, he seems to have been fairly successful for a time. Moreover, his soldiers, having defeated the dreaded Mamelukes, came to Cairo with an awe-inspiring reputation of invincibility and their merry and good-humoured ways proved the very opposite of the ferocity which was expected of them. But French prestige suffered severely from the naval defeat of Aboukir. Fanatical Moslems, who had been silenced for a while, raised their voice again, and, just at the critical moment, Napoleon made the fatal mistake of allowing himself to be persuaded by his financial adviser to levy a new kind of tax on Egyptian property. This caused an outburst of fury among the Cairenes and an insurrection began in which General Dupuy, Governor of Cairo, and some other officers lost their lives. The insurgents took refuge in the mosque of El Azhar, very probably also in that of Sultan Hassan, and prepared to resist a siege. Finally Napoleon resorted to the expedient of bringing artillery to the edge of the Moqattam and the rebellion promptly subsided.

It is by no means likely that all those cannon balls were his; a French author of the XVIIth century¹⁰ mentions several cannon-balls and in particular some which damaged the dome. Evidently he must have meant

¹⁰ M. de Thévenot.

the original cupola, supposed to have been shaped like that of the mosque of Suyurghātmish, immediately below that of Ahmed Ibn Tulūn; it fell to pieces, in 1659, I think and the present ungainly dome, obviously Turkish in shape, was built more recently by one of the Ottoman Governors. As it is known that Selim I. employed artillery to conquer Egypt in 1517, it seems



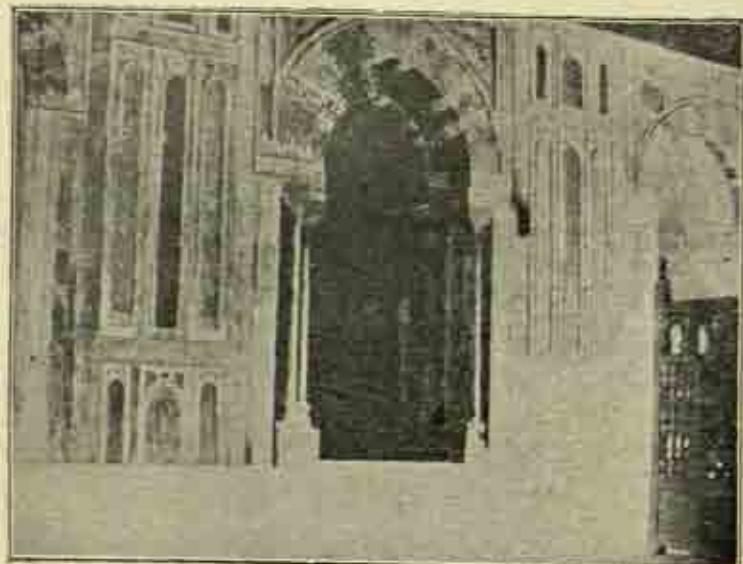
Phot. Stewart.

Mosque of Sultan Hassan. Door of pulpit.

more than probable that some of these projectiles may be ascribed to him.

The interior of the mosque is very interesting; it shows the cruciform shape which is common to mosques of the XIVth century, each arm of the cross being a vaulted room or *liwān*, closed on three sides, and the *sahn*

or courtyard forming the centre. Each of those *liwāns* was originally reserved from the time of Saladin for one of the four great Moslem religious sects but I do not know whether that is still the case. The immense *sahn* is richly paved in marble, a restored ablution fountain of Turkish design occupies the centre of it and the four *liwāns* consist of four great arches of really overwhelming size. At the side of each, a handsome doorway leads into a separate college dedicated to one of the four sects the Malakite, Hanafite, Shafeite and Hanbalite. The south east *liwān*, or



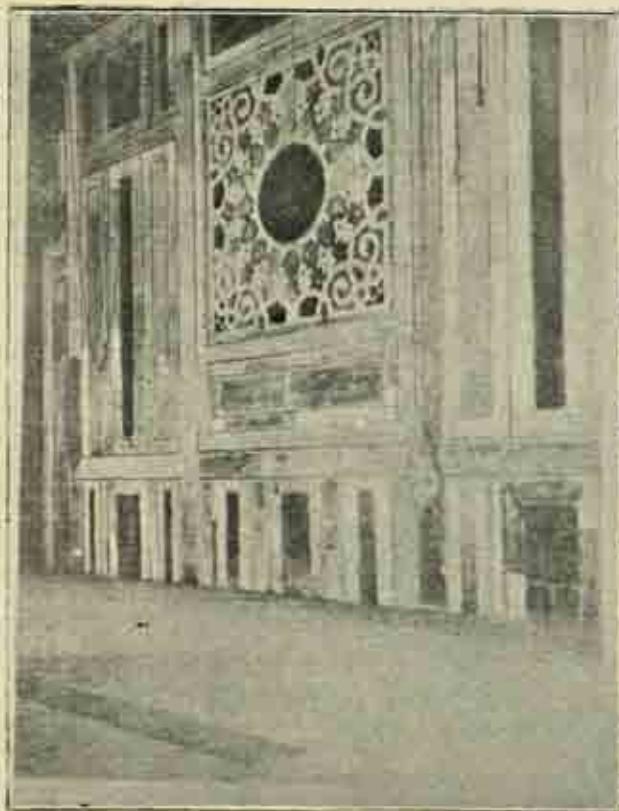
Phot. Stewart.

Mosque of Sultan Hassan. Mihrāb of Funeral Chamber.

sanctuary, is decorated by a magnificent plaster-work frieze of gigantic kūfic characters over a ground of lace-like arabesques and contains a handsome *Minbar* and *Mihrab*. Two splendid bronze doors, with gold incrustations, lead into the funeral chamber, also of superb proportions, with a very fine painted wood frieze and a prayer-niche of marble mosaic, the walls being faced with rich marble panels. The sarcophagus intended for the Sultan is quite plain and surrounded by a wooden trellis.

The mosque at one time contained many artistic treasures: bronze chandeliers, bronze and silver stands, carved-wood Coran lecterns, enamelled

glass lamps, etc. Most of these have found in the Arab Museum a refuge against unscrupulous collectors, careless keepers and the ravages of time; the mosque has recently been partly restored, and, perhaps, when the restoration is finished and it is used once more for worship, some of these



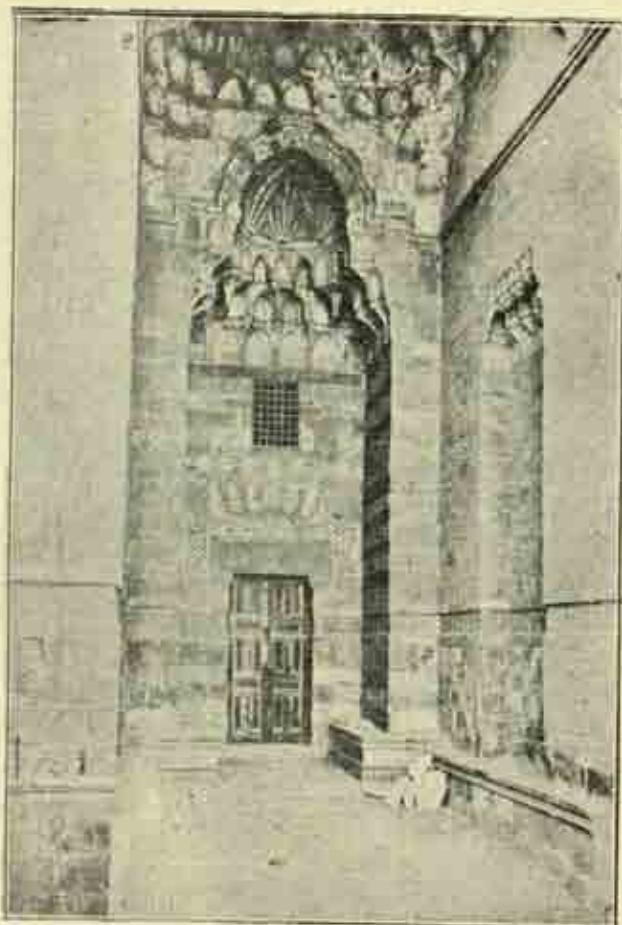
Phot. Stewart.

Mosque of Sultan Hassan.
Marble panel in Funeral Chamber.

works of art may be returned to their original places. There were also two incomparable bronze doors to the porch, but Sultan El Moyyad bought them at an enormous price in 1415 for his beautiful mosque near Bab ez Zuweyleh.

Quite near Sultan Hassan's mosque, at the S. W. corner, stands an imposing ruin which must once have been almost as remarkable as the

great mosque itself for its grandiose proportions, a XIVth century palace popularly known as the Serayet Bardak. Some uncertainty seems to exist among archaeologists as to the date of the foundation of this monument; it bears an inscription mentioning a Sultan Mohammed en Nâsser, who



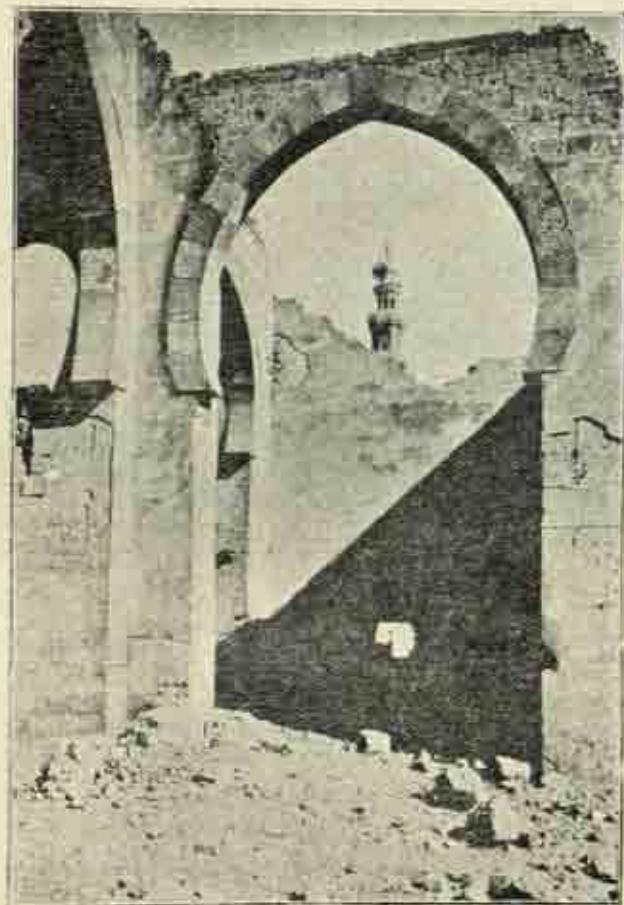
Phot. Crestwell

Palace of the Emir Yushbak. Vestibule.

may have been the son of Qalaün, Sultan Hassan's father, and the style of the porch and façade is earlier in appearance than the time of the Emir Yushbak, who was undoubtedly the owner of this palace in the reign of

Sultan Qâitbay. Perhaps he only restored it when he became possessor of it.

I believe this was the same Emir who built the graceful dome at Pong de Qubbah, probably intending it for a mausoleum which he was not destined to use, for, like his contemporary, Qigmâs el Ishaky, he was killed



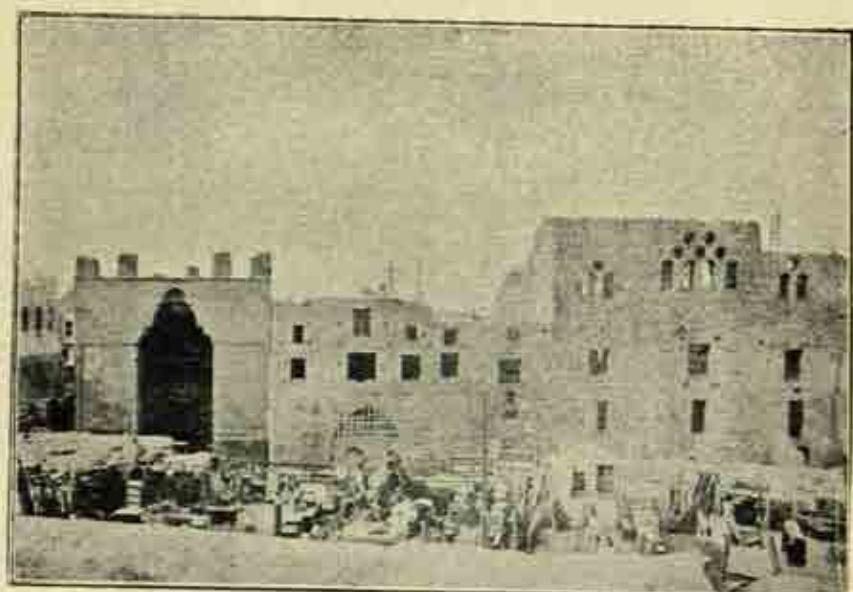
Phot. Creswell.

Palace of the Emir Yushbak. Interior.

fighting in Syria. After his death, his palace became the property of the Emir Aqbarî, hence the popular name of Bardaq.

We approached the great porch of it through the open air workshop

of a repairing carpenter, and stood for a long time admiring the wonderful stalactite ornamentation, said to be among the very finest in existence; we were unfortunately unable to obtain the key and to visit the interior vestibule.



Phot. Greswell.

Palace of the Emir Yushbak. North Façade.

decorated in the same style, neither did we reach the upper floor, of which only a few arches remain besides the ruined façade; but we penetrated into the spacious vaulted groundfloor and were much impressed by its enormous proportions.





From a photograph taken by an officer of Australian Light Horse.
Ruins of castle and mosque of Sultan Barqūq at Khan Yunis.

LETTER VIII.

THE MOSQUES OF SULTAN BARQŪQ

A. D. 1382-1399

Mausoleum of Sultan Qailbāy. Madrasseh of Sultan Farāq.

CLOSE to the Mosques of Qalaūn and his son in the Sūq en Nahassia stands a third and very beautiful mosque which adjoins that of Nāsser on the north side.

It was built, eighty years later, by Barqūq, the first Sultan of the second line of Mamelukes, generally called the Burgite, or, more rationally, the Circassian dynasty. These slaves were imported from Circassia by the Baharite Mamelukes, as they themselves had been by the Ayubite Sultans, in order to form a military body-guard, and, again like their predecessors, whom they surpassed in strength, beauty and intelligence, they soon aspired to the power for one of themselves. Barqūq obtained the throne through a series of intrigues, battles and murders, and his

reign was interrupted by civil wars, revolutions and foreign invasions, just as had been that of more than one of the Turcoman sultans; nevertheless, he distinguished himself by a wise and benevolent administration and by the building of many useful and beautiful monuments.

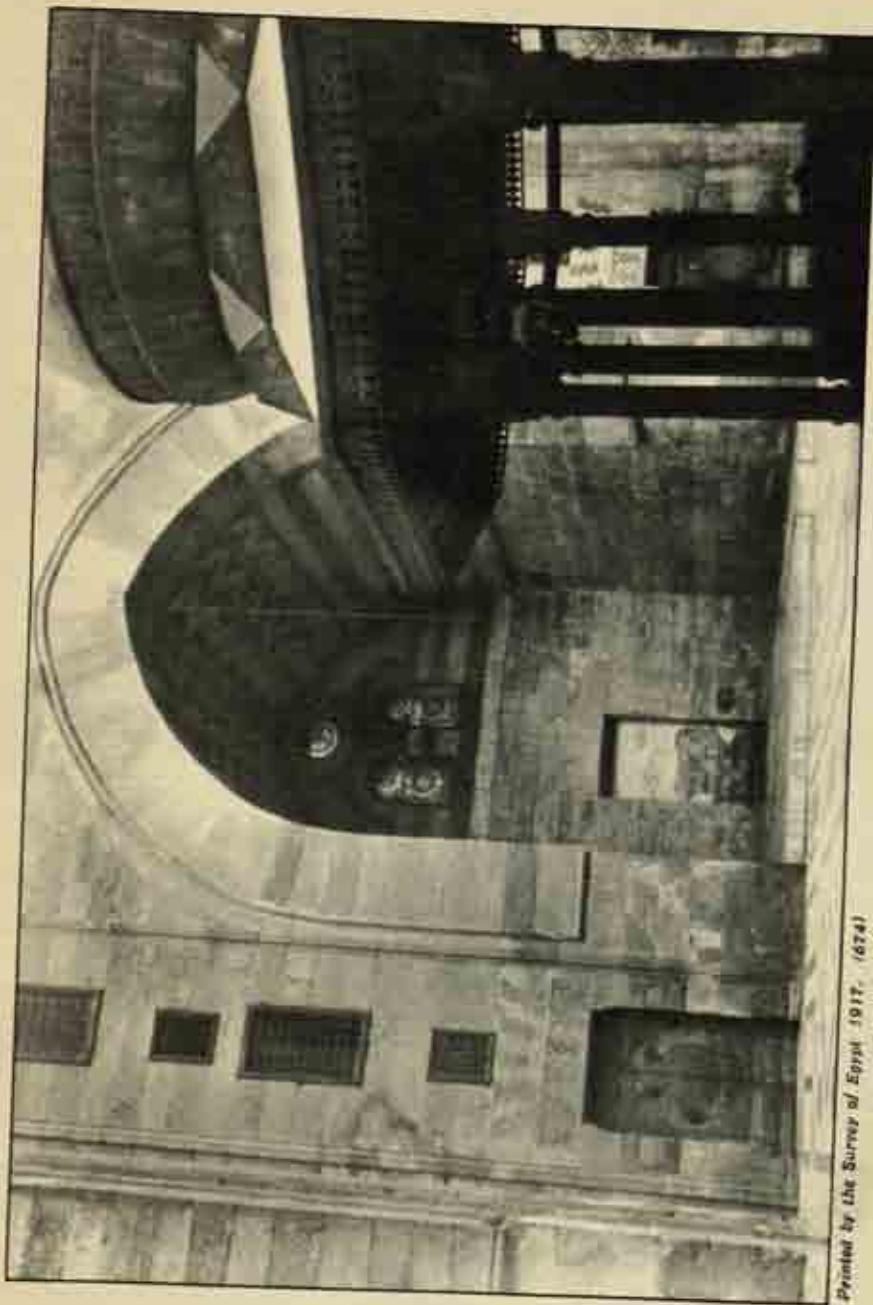
The above-mentioned mosque contains the tomb of a daughter of his (he himself being buried in the Eastern Cemetery), but its chief destination was that of a religious school or *Madrasseh*. It is built in the cruciform plan which was generally adopted in mosques of that period and which I mentioned to you when writing about the great mosque of Sultan Hassan.

The south-east *iwān* or sanctuary, which contains the prayer-niche and pulpit, has a recently restored and very rich ceiling supported by four enormous ancient columns of dark red porphyry. The *dikkeh* or choir-gallery is new; it is of white marble and very effective. In the middle of the *sahn* is an ablution fountain of Turkish design which resembles many of the *sebils* or public fountains in the streets. The entrance into the mosque is very striking; a few steps lead to a handsome porch of black and white marble with splendid doors of wrought bronze and silver. From a small ante-chamber, a long and vaulted passage meanders into the open *sahn*, this corridor being paved with marble mosaic of a bold and harmonious design in which those large disks are employed which were probably obtained by sawing antique columns horizontally.

The minaret is slenderer than that of Sultan Hassan and has served as a model for several later buildings.

On the day after I had seen this handsome monument, H. and I went to visit Barqūq's tomb in the cemetery usually, and quite improperly, called the Tombs of the Khalifas, and we purposely entered the cemetery by its northern extremity, going some way by the Alibassieh tramway and then walking along a new road through some waste ground. The necropolis is a most remarkable place; there is no vegetation whatever and the buildings and ground are all of the same golden sand colour; it looks at first like a large town, with innumerable houses and many beautiful half-raised cupolas and minarets, but it soon becomes clear that it is a dead city, or rather a city of the dead. The various burial grounds of the different families are enclosed by walls with large windows to them, within which are generally found, besides the family vault, a dwelling for the keeper of the tombs, his wife and children, and a more or less luxurious room in which, on certain dates in the year, the female relatives of the dead come to spend the night, praying, wailing and feasting in turns. Some of these places are quite modern and stand incongruously close to beautiful ruins of XIVth or XVth century tombs. Several of the latter consist merely of one cupola, delicately carved, set on a square basis enclosing the funeral chamber with a plain sarcophagus in the centre.

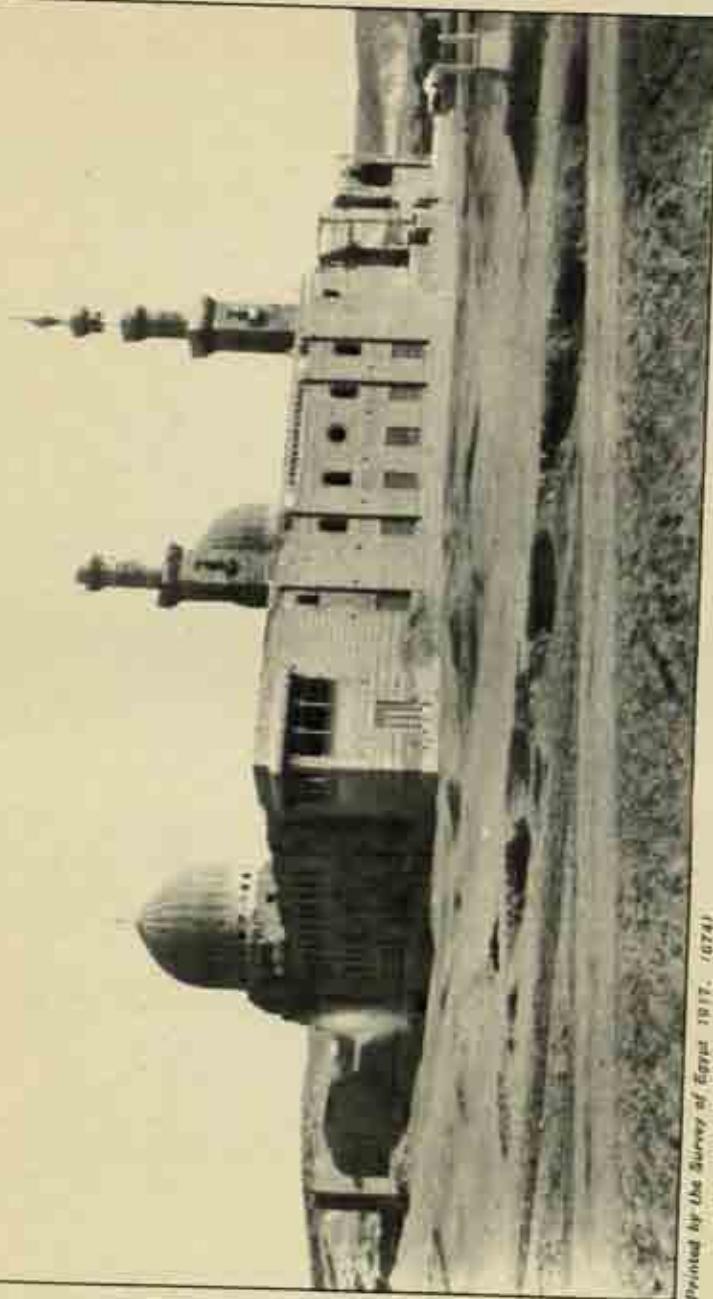
The mausoleum of Barqūq is situated at the north end of the Qarāfah



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917 (674)

Mosque of Sultan Barquq (intra muros) (Creswell)





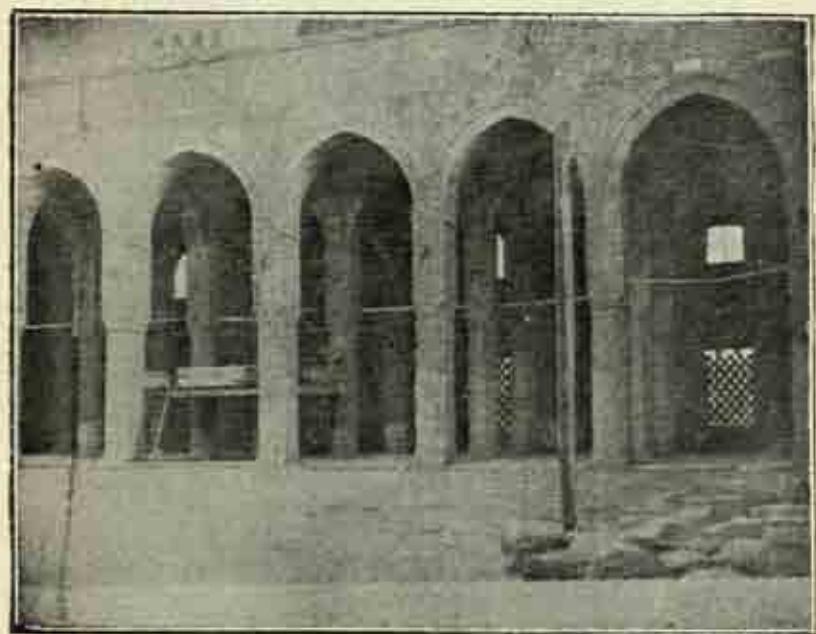
Wadî

Mausoleum of Sultan Barquq

Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917. (674)

or cemetery and is one of the largest monuments in it. It included a *khangeh* or monastery, a fountain and a primary school, besides the usual features of a tomb-mosque. The exterior aspect is unusually symmetrical, with two minarets, one of which has lost its upper storey, and two very high and wide stone cupolas, decorated in an effective diagonal pattern. These are said to be the first example in Cairo of stone used for a dome, brickwork and plaster having hitherto been used.

The mosque is unfortunately in a ruined condition, and, I suppose

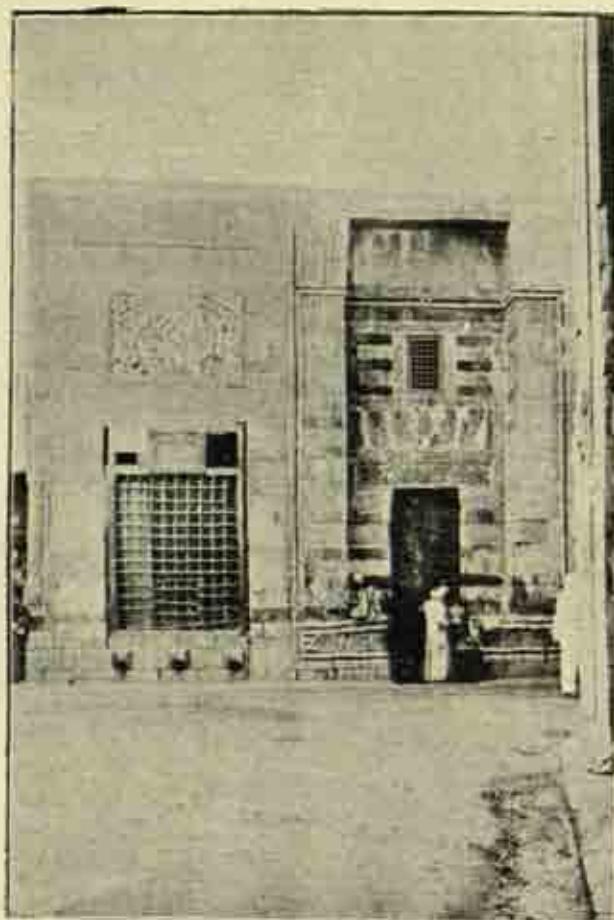


Phot. Wade.

Mausoleum of Sultan Barqūq. Arcade of Sanctuary.

through lack of funds, has only been very sparingly restored. Here, too the building is entered by a vaulted passage of an imposing description which leads into the open and very large *sahn* or courtyard. The general plan of the mosque is somewhat like that of El Azhar, or rather of Ibn Tulūn and El Hākem; arched cloisters must at one time have surrounded the *sahn* on four sides, with several extra rows of arches on the sanctuary side. These arches are peculiar; they do not spring from columns, but from pillars, not massive like the piers of Ibn Tulūn, but slender and elegant; their proportions almost impart a feeling of Gothic architecture

to the cloisters. The roof which they support, instead of being vaulted or ceilinged in the usual way, consists of a series of small, hemispherical brick vaults that I can only compare to inverted soup-plates. The great twin domes stand at each end of the eastern liwān, over two spacious

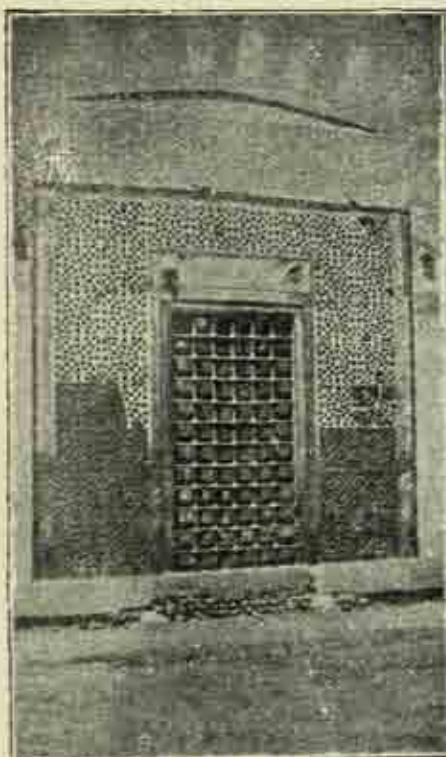


Madrasa of Sultan Faraz

Phot. Creswell.

funeral chambers; the chapel at the north end contains the sarcophagus of the sultan, in richly carved marble; a pillar at one end is said to represent the stature of Barqūq, who must indeed have been a fine, well-grown man, nearly seven feet tall. A smaller tomb was intended for the founder of

the mausoleum, Barqūq's son Farag⁽¹⁾, who however, was beheaded at Damascus by some revolutionaries (A.D. 1412) and whose body was thrown on a heap of manure.



Phot. Chatterton.

Mosque of Shaban.
Wooden trellis of sabil window.

There are some remains of beautiful wooden trellis work in this chapel, as also in that of the south corner which contains three tombs of royal ladies, wives or daughters of the Sultan. This particular kind of trellis

(1) A small college mosque, with some charming details, was built by Farag near the Bab ex Zuweylah. In the XVIth century, during the Turkish régime, this little mosque was used by one of the governors as an office in which a special clerk sat to receive and tabulate the complaints for embezzlements brought by private individuals against his predecessor.

work, frequently seen in Persia and in Turkey, where it has even been copied in marble, is very rare in Cairo, the only other example of it being over the *sebil* of the mosque of Shaâban in Sharia Et Tabbâneh. In Barqûq's mosque, it forms square panels in the doors leading into the chapels from the *iwâñ*:



Reproduced from "The Sphinx".

Mausoleum of Barqûq. Cells of Sufi monks.

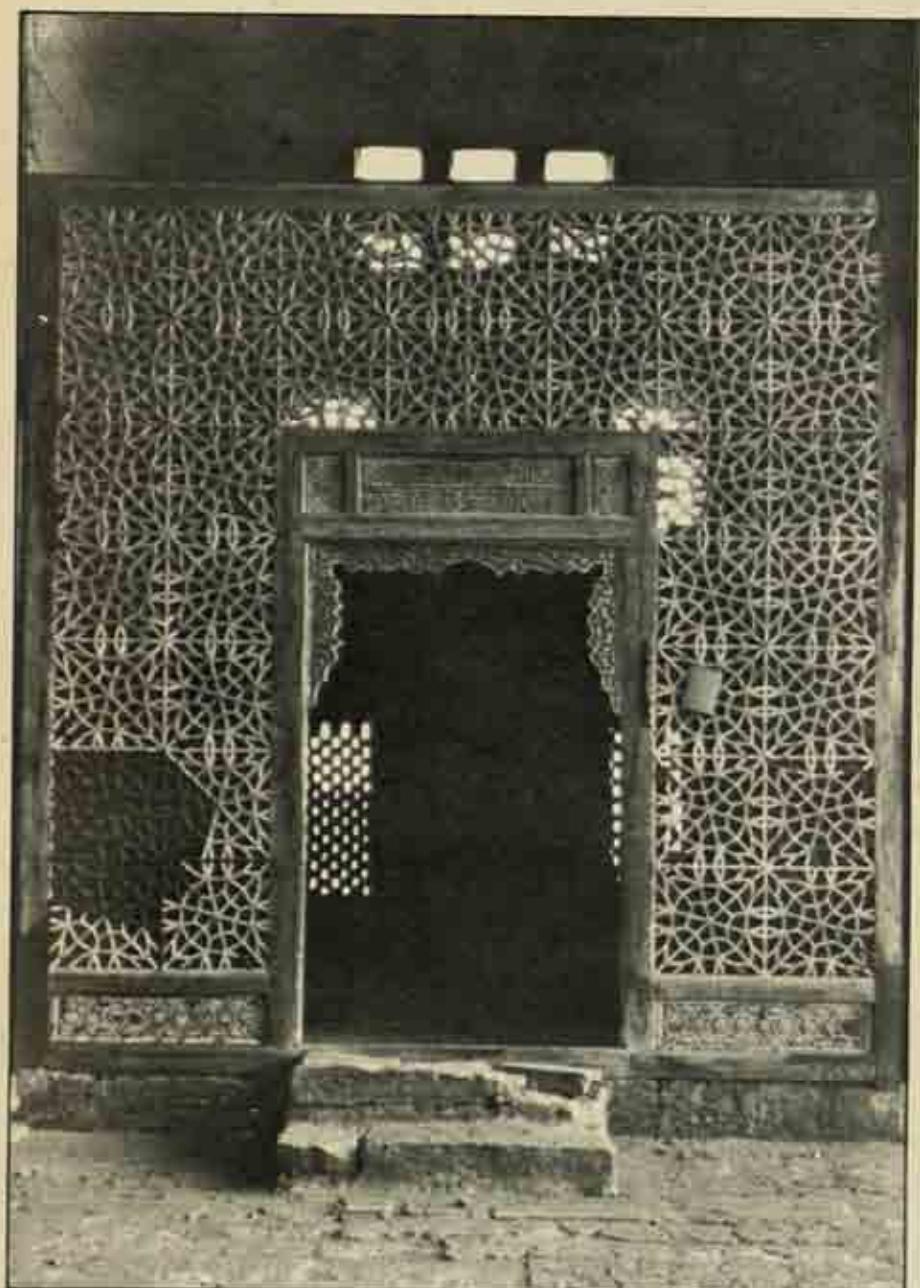
The courtyard is most picturesque; it has been allowed to get into a very neglected condition and nothing is left of the ablution fountain, but, in the hollow where it once lay, a wild tree has grown, the one living thing among the ruins. There evidently was no dearth of water here in the old days, for two wells are still open in which the Arab in charge threw



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(Creswell)

Cupola of Sultan Barqūq's tomb

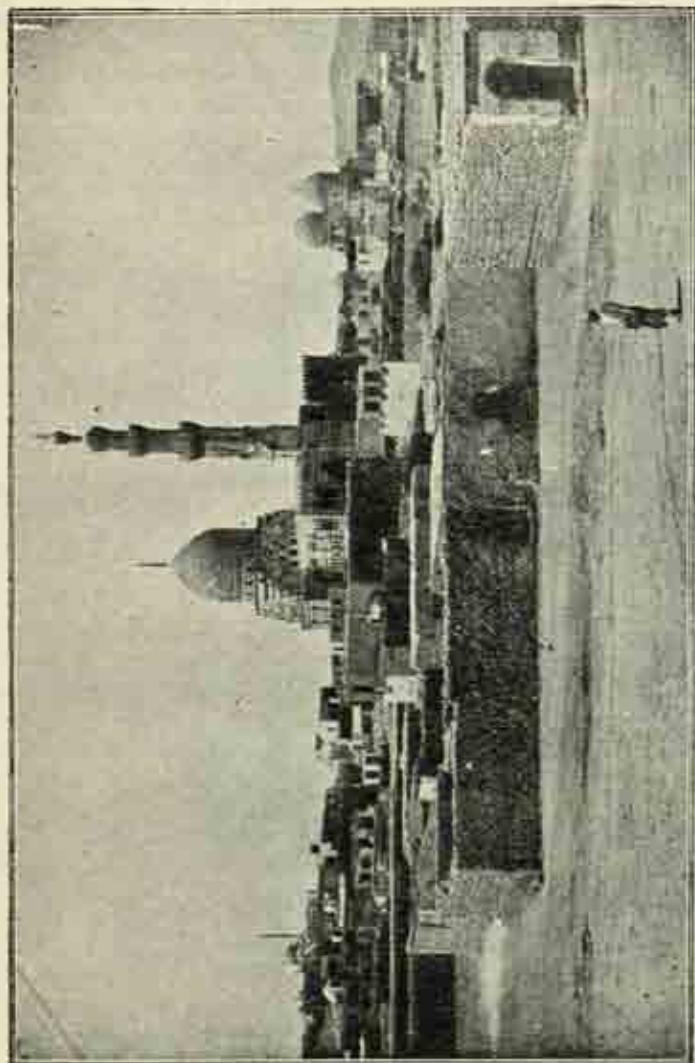


Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1917. 1674

(Creswell)

Tomb of Sultan Barqūq

stones to let me judge of their great depth. One of them is in the former west corner of the building next to the now disused porch: above it, on an



Mausoleum of Qalibay. General view.

upper floor, the graceful loggia remains of what was the Kuttâb or elementary school belonging to the mosque.

The north liwān of the building contained three floors of cells, once inhabited by the religious Sūfi monks who dwelt in the *hāneqeh*; I hear that there were a good many of those religious communities and that the first building intended to accommodate them was founded by the celebrated Salāh ed Dīn, the Saladin of the crusades. These monks studied and practised the art of preaching and the pious Sultan included them in his schemes for the religious reformation of the land which he had found steeped in the Shi'ite heresy of the Fatimite Khalifas. It was under his reign that mosques of the Madrasseh or college type began to prevail, each of the four *īmāns* being destined for the instruction of students in the tenets of one of the four great sects.

The pulpit in Barqūq's sanctuary is one of the most remarkable features of the mosque, and, I believe, quite unique of its kind. It is of stone, delicately chiselled in a most artistic polygonal design, and an inscription in beautiful Arabic characters states that this lovely work of art was presented to the mosque by Sultan Qāitbay, the great building Prince who took so important a part in the restoration of El-Azhar.

His own perfect little mausoleum stands within a hundred yards of Barqūq's; it has given the name of Qāitbay to the whole cemetery and is very frequently visited by sight-seers. Indeed I have met several people who, though quite indifferent to the historical and artistic interest of this country, have nevertheless visited Qāitbay's tomb-mosque as a sort of duty. H. says that the interior of his college-mosque *intra-muros* is even more delicately beautiful but that the exterior harmony of this one, with its graceful minaret and charming dome, is quite unsurpassed.

It is a pity that the marble panelling of the sanctuary has not been replaced, it is sad to see on the walls the place where it should be found, left with no trace of the original facing, save the holes intended to keep the cement secure.



LETTER IX.

THE MOSQUE OF SULTAN EL MOYYAD

A.D. 1420

Bab ez Zuweyleh

A.D. 1091

IT is not always possible to avoid an anachronism when arranging the itinerary of my explorations in mediaeval Cairo, and the gate called Bab ez Zuweyleh and El Moyyad's mosque stand so near each other that I had to visit them on the same day.

Bab ez Zuweyleh is the third of the three great gates built in the time of Khalife El Mustansir b-Ilah (A.D. 1091) by Badr el Gamaly's architects. It is also called Bab el Mitwelly, and is to be found at the southern end of the street which crosses the Musky at right angles and which passes between Sultan El Ghury's two splendid mosques. It is, like its two sister-gates, wonderfully well built of enormous blocks of hewn stone, with a huge tower on each side of it. These towers are, rather unexpectedly, surmounted by lovely twin minarets, as slender and elegant as the towers are massive and defiant. It seems that Sultan El Moyyad, wishing to build his splendid mosque, about 1412, pulled down part of the fortifications to make room for it and placed these two minarets, not on the mosque itself, but on the adjoining gateway. The reason why this gate is called El Mitwelly is that, quite recently, perhaps one or two centuries ago, an old saint used to sit behind one of its doors, work miracles and receive alms. Either his spirit is supposed to hover around it still or his memory suffices to work more miracles, for the ignorant and poor continue to attribute healing virtues to the great gate. When some one is very sick, his relatives bring a lock of his hair, or a shred of his clothing, in extreme cases even one of his teeth, and fasten it to a nail on the door. I was amused to see that the two doors of the gate were indeed covered with those extraordinary relics; in times of epidemics, the spot cannot be particularly healthy.

In the middle ages, this gate had another gruesome speciality: it was used for executions and was occasionally trimmed with human heads of defeated enemies or with the hanging corpses of malefactors or political victims. The story of the last Mameluke Sultan is rather a pathetic one.

His name was Tumanbây, and he succeeded his uncle, Sultan Qansû el Ghûry, when the latter was killed in a fierce battle near Aleppo in 1516 against the invading Turks. Before 1914, accounts of these wars of 400 years ago, between distant Eastern nations, would have been of little interest.



Phot. Wade.
Bab az Zuwaylih.

save to historians and Orientalists. Now it seems strangely familiar to read of battles between Turks and Egyptians, in places mentioned in our own newspapers. The victory of the Turks was due to their use of heavy

artillery, at that time quite a recent invention and unknown to the Egyptians. Terrified by the effect of this new agent of destruction, the latter fled in disorder; indeed, one whole wing of their army, commanded by the Emir Kheyrbek, abandoned the Sultan and surrendered to the enemy⁽¹⁾. The others brought the news to Prince Tumanbây, whom his uncle had left in Cairo as Regent, and who hastened to make all preparations against the coming of the Turks. He even procured some artillery from the Venetians, paying them almost its weight in gold. He fortified Damietta and other places on the Syrian frontier, taking advantage of the fact that the Turks had encamped in Syria and seemed inclined to rest awhile. The Turkish Sultan, Selim I., sent some envoys to Cairo, ordering Tumanbây, in the most insolent manner, to surrender unconditionally. The unhappy sovereign of Egypt, whose courage seems to have deserved a better fate, gathered his troops together and went to meet his enemy. Hearing that the Turks had already taken Ghazza, El Arish and Qatîeh he encamped at Salhieh and waited for the invaders. Selim, however, by a turning movement, crossed the desert in another spot (there was no Suez Canal in those days), and arrived at Khanqeh, only a few hours from Cairo. Tumanbây immediately turned back and attacked the Turks at Radanieh. The hopes he had placed in his artillery were disappointed, his gunners had no experience and could do nothing against the better trained Turkish artillerymen.

The Egyptians fought bravely, but were completely routed. Their Sultan hurried back to Cairo, the Turks followed, and terrible fighting took place in this city; the Mamelukes defended the town step by step, every house had to be besieged, every street was a scene of carnage. Victors at last, the Turks committed the most horrible excesses, pillaging, burning and killing; the whole garrison of the Citadel was massacred. Tumanbây succeeded in escaping at the last moment, but was arrested in the Delta, sold to the Turks by some Bedouins, and brought before Selim in chains. The latter treated him kindly, ordered his chains to be removed and had him fed and clothed and brought to him day after day. At those interviews, he questioned his prisoner concerning details of administration and the resources of the country. After ten days or a fortnight, having learnt all he wanted to know, Selim calmly ordered the Sultan of Egypt to be hanged at the Bab ez Zuweyleh where his dead body remained for a week exposed to the view of the people.

The adjoining college mosque of El Moyyad, like several others, is a dependency of El Azhar and is attended by a large number of students. Several classes were going on when we visited it. It was built between 1416 and 1420, and restored quite recently under the supervision of that

(1) Kheyrbek was afterwards rewarded for his treachery by being made first Governor of Cairo under the Turkish régime.

estimable body, the Commission for the Preservation of Arab Monuments. The founder was a learned man who, though he obtained the throne through intrigues and murders, afterwards reigned wisely and peacefully. In the

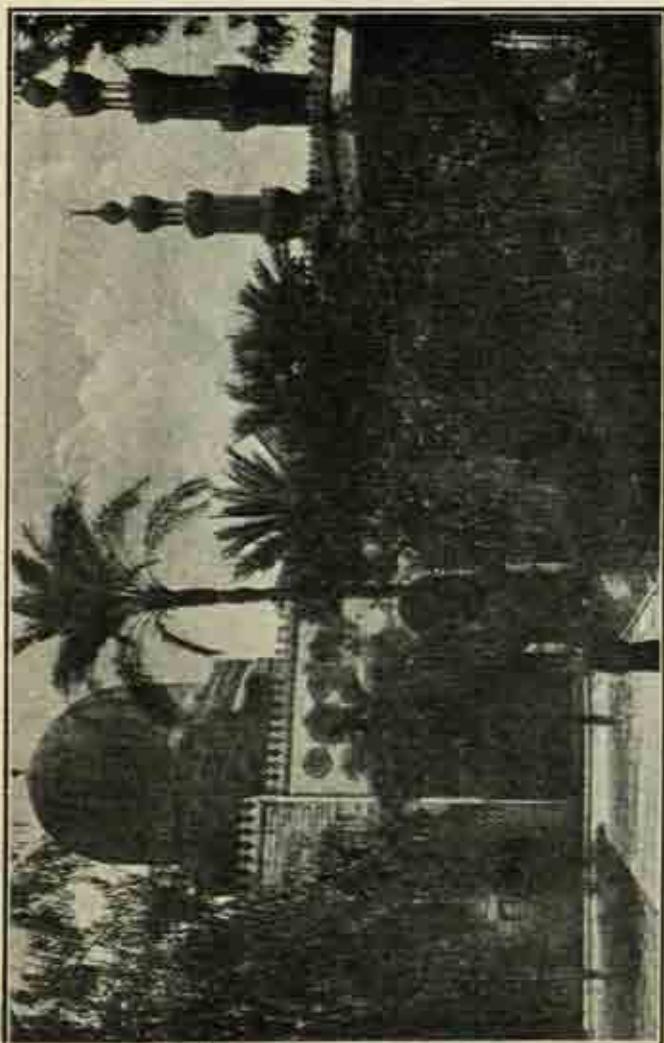


Phot. Waide.

Twin minarets of the mosque of El Moyyad.

course of the civil wars and revolts which preceded his accession to the throne, he was for some time confined in a prison for criminals which stood on this site, and he made a vow, if Allah delivered him, to build a beautiful

mosque in its stead. He kept his word and his mosque, which contains his tomb, is one of the most beautiful in Cairo. In order to procure suitable doors for it, he purchased two magnificent bronze doors from the

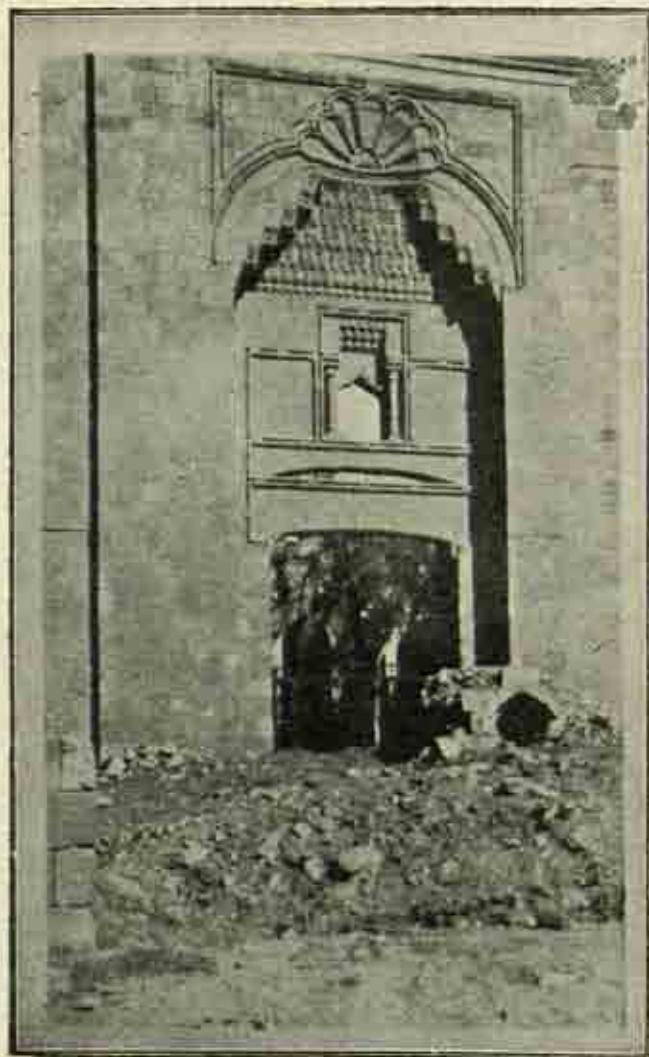


Reproduced from "The Sphinx".

Mosque of El Moayad. View from west door.

mosque of Sultan Hassan, which were sold to him for 500 gold dinars. He also seems to have felt no compunction in using pillars from Christian

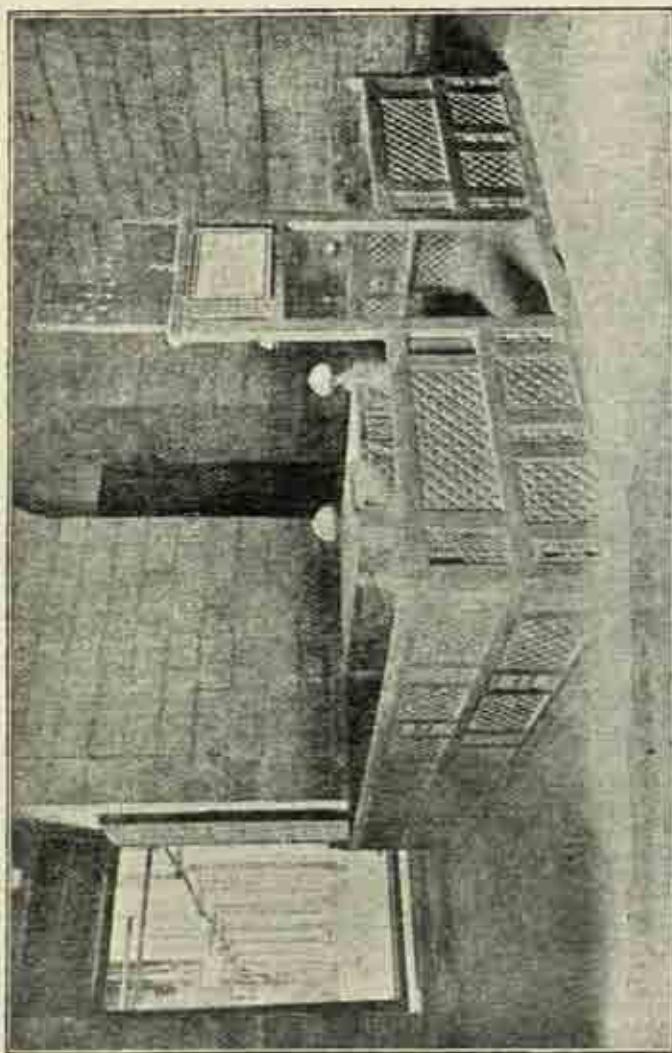
Churches; one of the columns in his mosque actually shows an unmistakeable cross on its capital.



Phot. Chatterton.
Mosque of El Moyyad. West Door.

The enclosure covers a large area of ground including a very attractive

garden in the courtyard, planted around the fountain where the worshippers perform their ceremonial ablutions. Of three liwâns and their columns, nothing remains but the outer wall, opening on the west side by two



Mosque of El Moayad. Sarcofagus of the Sultan.

handsome doors. The sanctuary on the contrary is quite complete, it contains the usual features and is most richly decorated, every detail of the ceiling,

arcades, walls, coloured glass windows, being worthy of study. The pulpit and wooden doors are fine specimens of polygonal marqueterie and the prayer-niche is lined with a gorgeous marble mosaic.

The Sultan's tomb is in a square chapel on the right of the main entrance, and the superb dome, resting above a circular row of small windows, is set on the square basis formed by the walls of the chapel in the remarkable way peculiar to this architecture. The tomb itself is a handsome sarcophagus of white marble decorated with a fine kufic inscription. The principal porch of the mosque is lofty and magnificent; it is approached by an imposing marble staircase and forms an eminently picturesque setting for the students and professors in their flowing robes and turbans.

The ruins still exist of another monument of Sultan El Moyyad, a *muristan* after the fashion of Sultan Qalaūn's great philanthropic institution. It is extremely difficult to find these remains, choked up as they are with other buildings, some of them hovels of the most sordid description. In the XVIIIth century, the Turkish mosque of Ibrahim es Sakkary was built literally against the façade of the ruined *muristan*, the north wall of it being used as a back wall for the mosque. In order therefore to see El Moyyad's monument, it is necessary to obtain access to the mosque, which stands in a *cul-de-sac* branching out of the Sh. el Maingar, almost opposite the winding carriage road which leads into the Citadel. It is well worth the trouble, however, if it were only to see the great door of the ancient *muristan*, a porch of unusually wide dimensions decorated in a particularly bold manner. Some of the handsome ornamental details are exactly like what we had seen in the same Sultan's mosque, perhaps on a slightly larger scale. The *Comité de Conservation* has begun some clearing work and will probably find means to allow sight-seers a better view of this fine old ruin. There is a good deal more of it hidden amongst the houses and if all those could be cleared away, the general plan of the building would become apparent. It would be well if the Es Sakkary mosque itself could be removed, though it is not without some interesting features, including ten extraordinary twisted columns unlike anything to be seen in Cairo, I believe. They were apparently not destined for this monument for they are not used symmetrically, some of the other pillars being quite different in shape.

LETTER X.

THE MOSQUE OF THE EMIR QIGMĀS EL ISHAKY

A.D. 1481

The Arab Museum.

THE small mosque of Qigmās may be considered as an excellent specimen of a XVth century monument in the style to which Sultan Qāitbay has deservedly given his name. Situated as it is, in the centre of the city, it is more accessible than his own tomb-mosque in the Eastern cemetery and much easier to find than his college-mosque in El Qatai or Abu Bekr Mazhar's in the Haret Birgwan. It is also seen to much better advantage than those two mosques and the general exterior aspect and architectural proportions are among the most graceful and attractive in Cairo. It stands on a triangular piece of open ground at the junction of two streets and the respective position of the different parts of the edifice could not be more artistically arranged. In order to approach it from the most favourable aspect, it is better to come from the Bab ez Zuweyleh and to turn eastwards along the Dabb el Ahmar. As is the case with so many other monuments of Cairo, the surrounding level of the ground has risen since it was built, and the Commission for the Preservation of Arab art has placed an iron balustrade around it and cleared it from the invading soil; we therefore had to go down some steps before coming to the flight leading up to the charming porch. The interior has recently been repaired with great taste and care, perhaps more artistically than any other restoration I have seen yet, all the missing or damaged details being exactly restored, and the effect on entering the mosque is particularly pleasing. The proportions are most harmonious, the decoration is rich without being overdone, and the light shed by the coloured glass windows is mellow and satisfying, revealing by degrees fresh charming details as one's eyes recover from the glare of the sunshine outside.

Below the lofty dome of the funeral chamber, a sarcophagus is hidden under an ordinary embroidered cloth of red and green; it is not that of the Emir Qigmās, but that of an old and venerable man, the Sheykh Abu Harīra,



Plot, Wade.

Mosque of the Emir Qigmās.

who died in odour of sanctity about three hundred years ago and was buried in this beautiful mausoleum. The Emir who founded it was Sultan Qāitbāy's Master of the Horse and a great favourite with the Sultan who

made him Emir el Hag or officer in charge of the pilgrimage, in which capacity, says Ibn Iyās, he gave great satisfaction. The same chronicler tells us that Qigmās was a pious and benevolent man, handsome in his person and his actions, and that he also built a madrassah at Damascus as well as other beautiful monuments. He died in Syria and was buried there, though he had prepared the mausoleum in Cairo for himself.

Not only has the structure of the mosque been restored, but the furniture of it; the pulpit and the *Kursi* or reading chair have been cleverly repaired and a very interesting attempt has been made to replace the beautiful enamelled glass lamps which used to hang in every mosque. About one hundred of those still exist and nearly sixty are preserved in the Arab Museum. Four of them were lent to the Kensington Museum in 1883, through Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, and returned in 1887, very unwillingly. The copies that I saw in Emir Qigmās' mosque are very attractive indeed; the colouring is not so rich as in the real thing, but the elegant shape has been reproduced and the Arabic inscriptions are most effective. I was told they give the date and occasion of their manufacture, with the name of the Pasha who superintended the restoration of the mosque, instead of the Coranic verse about Allah being the Light of the Heavens which usually adorns the originals in the Museum. The mosque servants closed the shutters and turned on the electric light for our benefit with delightful effect. I am told that these lamps were made in Bohemia and cost about 6 pounds each. The originals are of course literally priceless. I lost no time in going to the Arab Museum to see them, and I was so charmed with my visit that I propose to go there again and again. This museum is full of treasures; some have been saved from ruined mosques and tumbling-down houses, others come from private collections or legacies.

It has recently been installed in a handsome building in the Bab el Khalq square, about half-way up the Mohammed Aly street. The ground floor is given up to the Museum and is entered by the east door. The upper floor, reached by a staircase from the south door on the Mohammed Aly street, contains the Sultaniyah Library, a very fine collection of Persian and Arabic manuscripts together with a large number of modern books which may be borrowed by the public free of charge. As our object was primarily to see the lamps, we started on our tour of the Museum in the reverse direction to that usually followed, turning to the left instead of the right of the entrance, into the hall where the glass lamps are kept. These lamps are indeed one of the wonders of the world. It is not yet known where they were made, though it seems possible that they came from Fostāt. They used to hang in the sanctuaries of the mosques and the majority come from the great Sultan Hassan Mosque. (A.D. 1360) They are made of pale green or golden glass with lovely enamelled inscriptions and ornaments in harmonious colourings, many of them bearing the coats of arms of a Sultan

or Emir⁽¹⁾. The shape is charming, that of a graceful, though not too slender vase, with six little handles placed around the most prominent part,

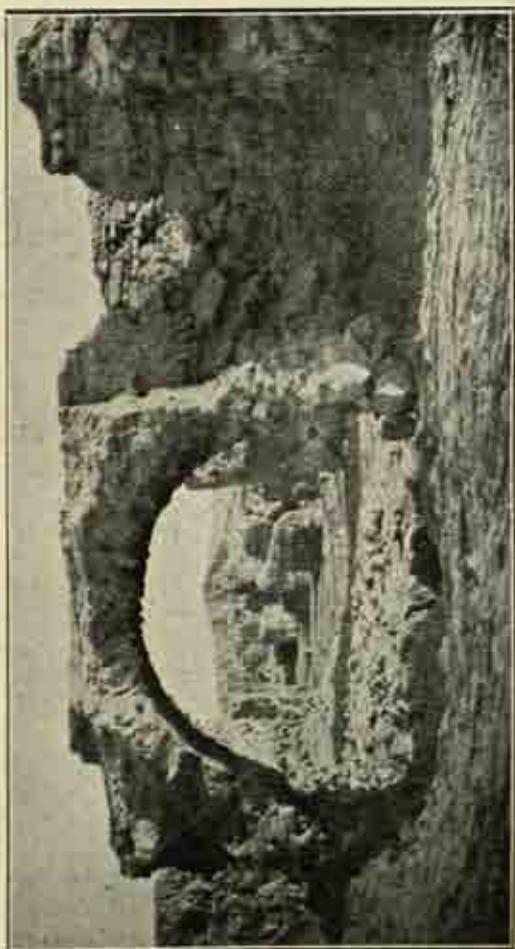


Enamelled glass lamp of the XIVth century. (Arab museum), through which was passed the light chain or silk cord by which the lamp

(1) The Mameluke princes used badges or coats of arms and the Crusaders brought the fashion back with them from the East.

hung from the ceiling. One or two of the most beautiful ones had a bulb of electric light hanging in the centre, and, when this was turned on, the effect was magical.

In another hall, we were shown some very remarkable specimens of



Reproduced from "The Sphinx".

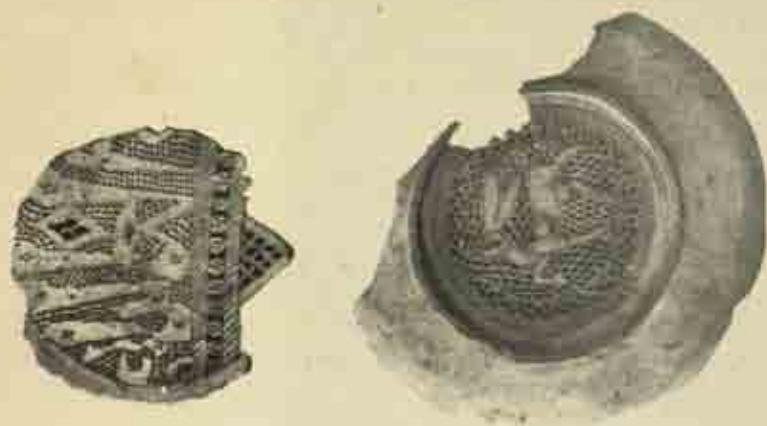
Ancient archway Ruins of Fostat showing regular remains of street.

pottery from Fostat, the medieval Arab town which is being excavated here from under the dust-heaps of Old Cairo. The Director of this Museum is chiefly responsible for these discoveries and all the best things found

in the buried town are brought here and exhibited. It used to be supposed that no really good pottery was made in Egypt and that the beautiful tiles and bowls in the old houses and mosques came from Persia. Now they have found at Fostat, not only the actual kilns where the pottery was baked, but, close by them, heaps of pieces evidently rejected on account of some flaw or other, things which never would have been imported, from Persia or anywhere else. Aly Bey Bahgat has collected a lot of those in one glass case and the flaws are amusingly obvious: for instance one *goolah* (porous water bottle) is bent completely out of shape, a broken plate shows little excrescences composed of fragments baked with it by mistake, and so on. In another glass case, there are a number of bowls, plates, cups, etc. made up of broken pieces completed in plain clay, so that the original shape of the vessel is unmistakeable and the beauty of it can be appreciated, as well as that of the design and colouring shown by the remaining fragment. It is a remarkably clever feat and does great credit to the native artisan who does this work. Some of the fragments treated in this way are of a dazzling metallic lustre or of superb colourings; there is a variety of exquisite blue tones. Others have inscriptions in different styles of Arabic writing, and I was told that several showed dates or the signature of the artistic potter who created them.

The craftsmen of those days evidently loved beauty for its own sake and took sincere pleasure in their work. Some charming details of ornamentation appear where they are least expected and would hardly be seen. For instance the neck of each water bottle is closed by an open-work filter, a sort of grill, to act as a sieve when the goolah was being filled; each of those grills shows a different design, some bold and striking, others delicate and lace-like. They are picked up in such quantities that the Museum authorities have some for sale, after reserving the most perfect for their show-cases. This is also the case with some little enamelled earthenware lamps of different shapes and colours, the prevailing tint being a vivid blue. I hold myself fortunate in having procured the accompanying photographs for your inspection. The delicate work of the goolah filters is clearly seen in one of them and another represents some of the above mentioned fragments cleverly worked into vessels obviously of the original shape. Note on one of them the badge of the owner, evidently *gukendar*, or polo-master at the court. The specimens of stucco-work show bold and artistic treatment, the design of one of them being very like some of the decoration remaining in the mosque of Ibn Tulun. The stucco panel, of which only a small part is finished whereas the rest is only designed, is intended to illustrate the skill, not of mediæval but modern Egyptian craftsmen, a native draughtsman having completed the whole of these two panels with nothing to help him but the small portion of the original which remained. And I am told that he worked without compasses, but entirely in free hand!

M. A.



Fostat Goolah filters

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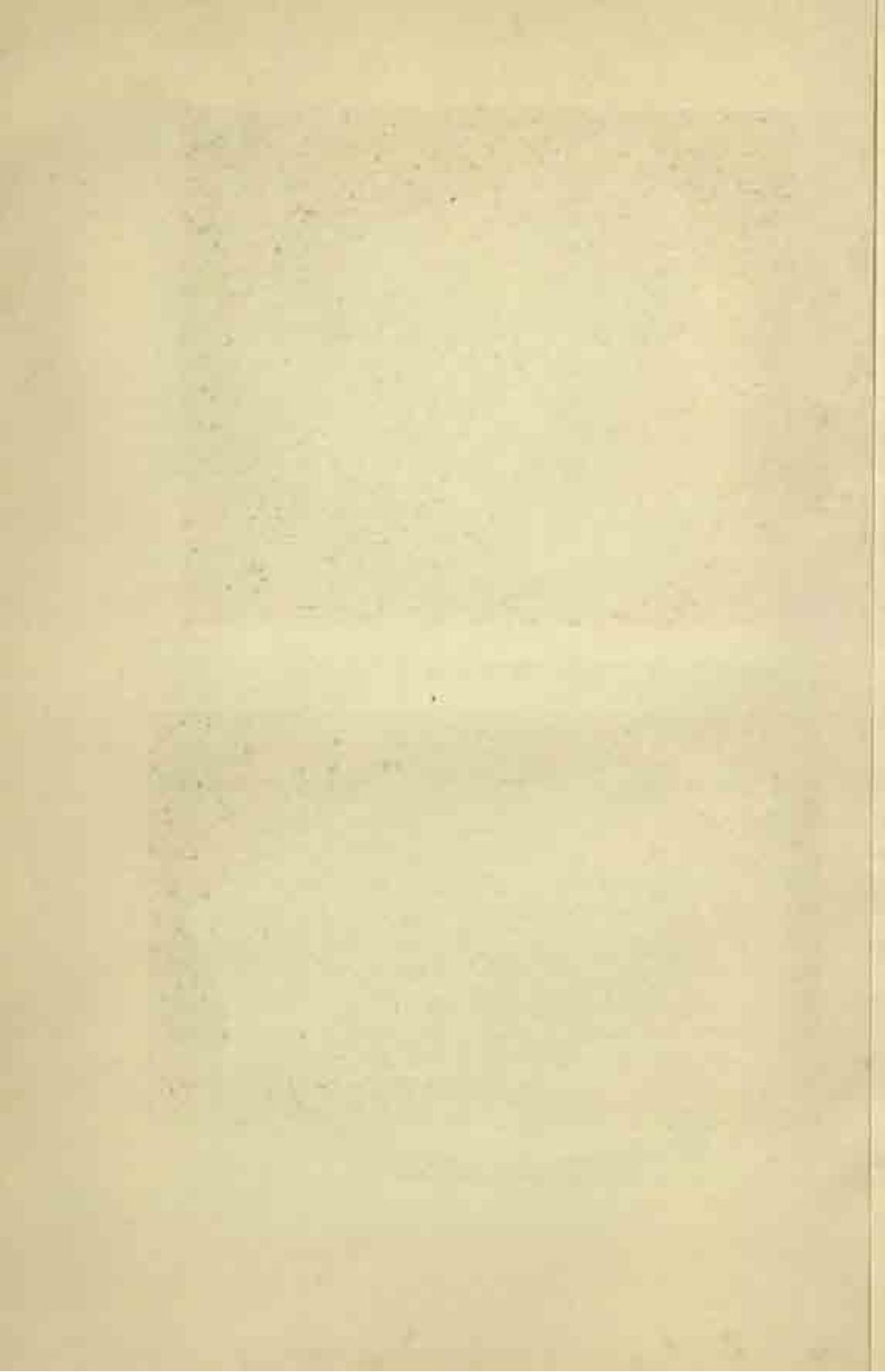




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M. A.

Fostat Fragments of Pottery

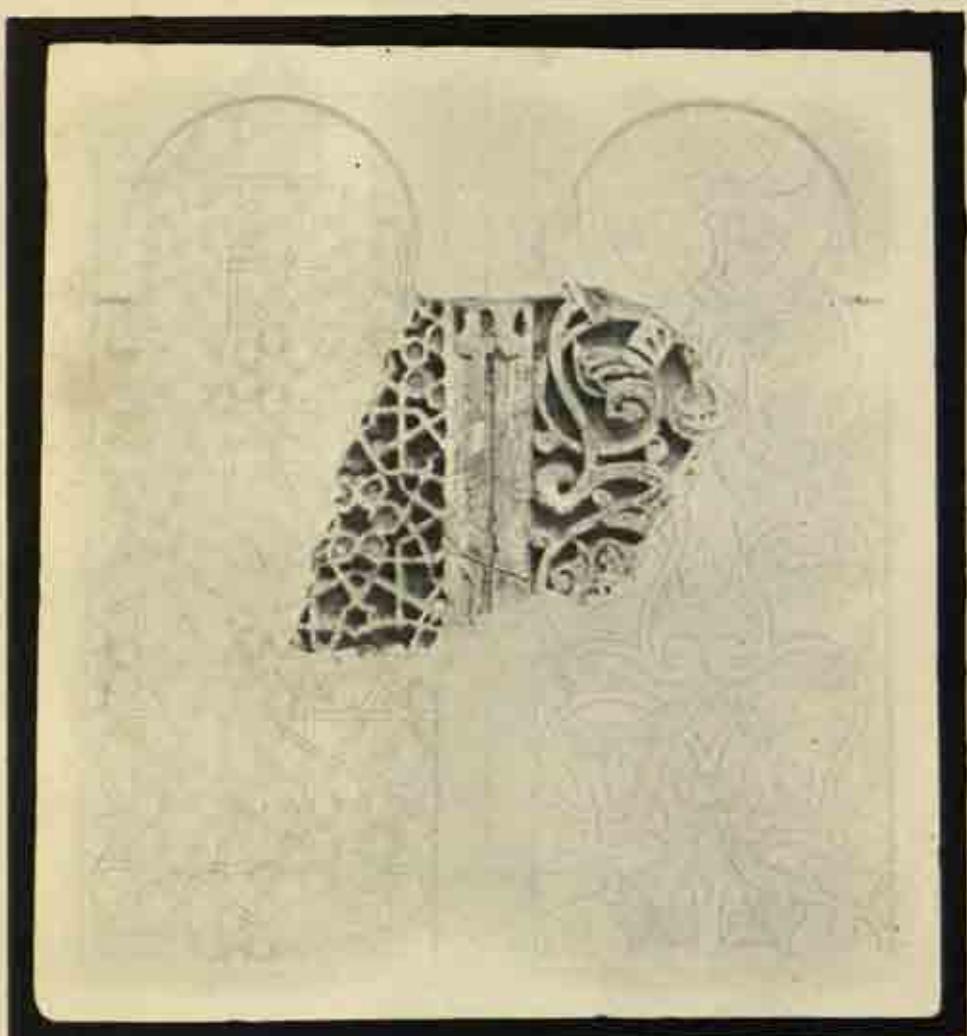




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M. A.

Fostat Stucco



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M. A.

Fostat - Fragment of stucco panelling

Fostât, the first town built in Egypt by the Moslems and a great political, commercial and industrial capital for five centuries, was deliberately burnt down under the last Fatimite Khalife in 1168, when it was feared that the invading crusaders might take it by storm. For centuries the heaped-up refuse of Cairo buried it, growing into mountains over what had been spared by the fire, and it is only quite lately that the dust has been removed and searched in a systematic way. The ruins thus disclosed are most striking and afford interesting evidence of Oriental town life in the Middle



Phot. Chatterton.

Ruins of Fostât.

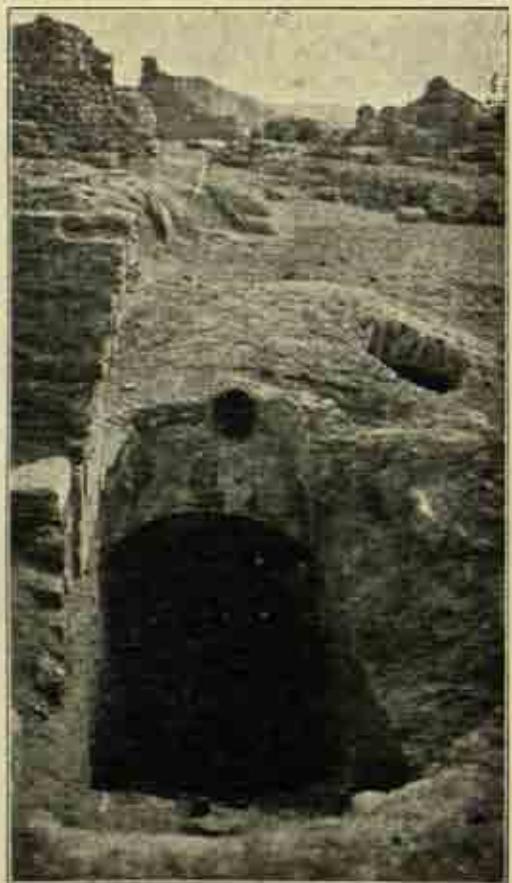
Oil press showing the groove in which the oil flowed.

Ages. Personal cleanliness was certainly more cultivated here than in the west, almost every large house seems to have contained a bath room; there are also unmistakeable remains of weavers' establishments, olive oil presses, granaries, etc. A few interesting inscriptions on wood were found deep in the rubbish, but they were naturally broken and incomplete.

The museum contains some remarkable wood-work, amongst other specimens, three very beautiful movable prayer-niches of the most exquisite workmanship⁽¹⁾, they date from the Fatimite period. Another very

(1) M. Ravaisse has written a memoir on those three wonderful pieces "Sur trois mihrâbs en bois sculpté" *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie* Cairo 1889.

celebrated master-piece in carved wood comes to us from Ayûbite times; it consists in three sides of a sarcophagus of which the fourth, containing the date, has found its way to the South Kensington Museum. It seems a pity that some exchange cannot be made between



Reproduced from "The Sphinx"
Ruins of Fostat. A cellar.

the two institutions in order to complete this interesting relic. It comes from a mausoleum in the Southern cemetery, known under the name of Saadat el Taalbeh, and there seems no doubt as to the authenticity of the date. On the reverse side, the wooden panels are carved in Tulûnid style, showing that they had been used for some older monument. The Ayûbite

period seems to have produced the finest wood-work to be found in this country. H. tells me that the sarcophagus of the Imām Shāfey, in the mausoleum rebuilt for him in 1218 by Queen Shemsā, is unrivalled in beauty and delicacy of treatment. The Imām's tomb⁽¹⁾, however, is closed to Christians, as are also the mosque of Sayedna Husseïn and that of Sayedeh Zeynab. The two latter present no archaeological interest, but the fact that the Lady Zeynab's mosque is considered such a holy place should dispose of the fallacy so widely spread among Europeans that Moslems do not credit women with an immortal soul.

It is impossible even to allude to all the treasures in this Museum in one letter, but I should like to say a word of the beautiful metal work to be seen here, and, in particular, of the brass or bronze articles with incrustations of copper, gold or especially silver. I am told that most of these came originally from Mosul and then from Damascus, but it seems evident that several were actually worked here, perhaps by Damascus craftsmen. A great deal of that work is still copied here with extraordinary skill. One of the most beautiful objects in the Museum is a *kursi* or small table found in the *muristān* of Qalaūn, and bearing the signature of an artist from Bagdad: I heard that some native ladies of Cairo, wishing to make a handsome present to the wife of an English official who was leaving Egypt after many years' residence, procured an excellent copy of this masterpiece, worked here by skilled Egyptian artisans. The Museum is being re-arranged and re-organised with great taste and archaeological science by Aly Bey Bahgat, and the Catalogue previously drawn up by Herz Pasha will probably be re-edited in order to conform with the new conditions. It still makes very interesting reading. You asked me to recommend to you easy and popular books on mediæval Cairo: Stanley Lane-Poole, besides his more scientific works, has published a delightful "Story of Cairo" for the Mediæval Town series, and Lady Amherst of Hackney has compiled a very useful History of Egypt: her book is particularly valuable as it connects the different epochs of the history of this country which are usually studied quite apart from each other. Do not place any reliance on Mr Douglas Sladen's "Oriental Cairo": it is full of erroneous statements and resolutely unfair to the Egyptians. Existing guide-books are very inadequate where Arab art is concerned; the only one I have found useful is the French Guide Joanne published by Hachette. Among other advantages, it has that of giving the plans of most of the better-known mosques, an inestimable boon to any serious student of architecture.

(1) The photograph in M. Saladin's "Art Musulman" which purports to represent the dome of the Imām Shāfey from the inside, is really a picture of the cupola of the mausoleum of Zein ed Dīn Yūsuf.

LETTER XI.

MOSQUE OF AQSUNQUR, restored by IBRAHIM AGHA

A.D. 1347-1653

Mosque of El Ayny.

A.D. 1411.

Mosque of Abu Dhahab.

A.D. 1774.

Tekkiet el Gulshany.

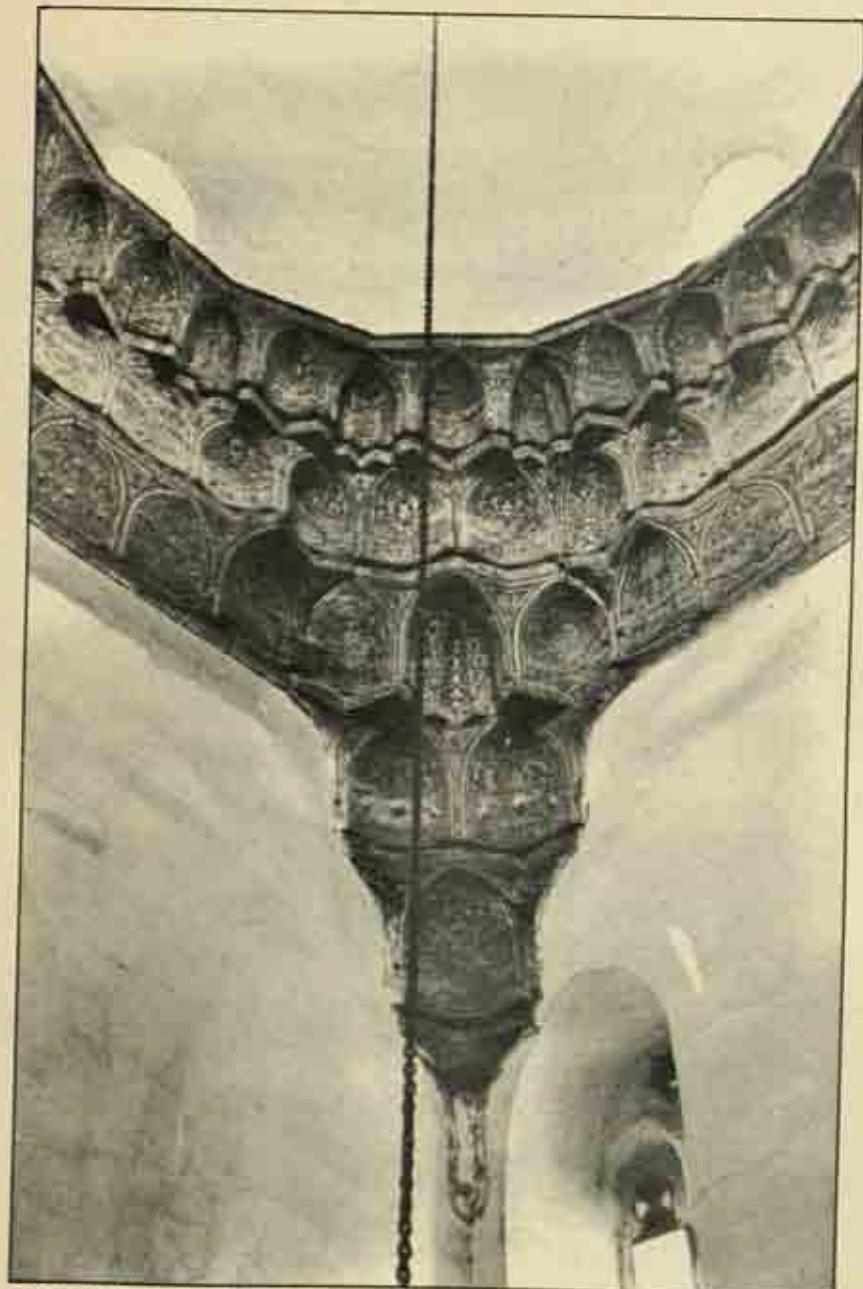
YOU ask me to write to you about the "Blue Mosque" and I ought to have remembered how celebrated it is, being a great favourite with tourists. It stands in a street which starts northwards, directly under the Citadel, and which first bears the name of Sh. el Mahgar, then of Sh. Bab el Wazir. It can also be approached from the Bab ez Zuweyleh, along the Darb el Ahmar, passing by that charming mosque of Qigmās which I mentioned in my last letter. It is one of the score of beautiful mosques which remain to us from Mohammed en Nāsser's reign, and was built in 1347 by one of his Ministers, the Emir Aqsunqur, who is said by Maqrizi to have taken a personal share in the labour. It is one of the very few mosques in Cairo in which the arcades are supported by stone pillars, octagonal in this case, instead of round columns. The *qibleh* is lined with a handsome mosaic and the pulpit is of carved marble, like that of Sultan Hassan. But the reason why it is so attractive to sight-seers is the magnificent decoration of blue, green and white tiles with which the south-east wall is almost entirely faced. There seems no doubt at all that these were added by the Turkish Governor Ibrahim Agha el Mustahfezān who, in 1653, restored the mosque of Aqsunqur, which had been sadly damaged by an earthquake, and placed his own mausoleum within it. These tiles are for the greater part arranged in the intended order, so that they form a handsome Persian design and the general effect is very pleasing, more so here than in the Turkish funeral chamber where the tiles are placed anyhow and do not harmonise well with the marble mosaic. In all probability these tiles were not indigenous, but imported from Syria or Anatolia by the Turks who were accustomed to this style of decoration.



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(Creswell)

Mosque of Aq Sunqur



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(Creswell)

Mosque of el-Ayny

many mosques in Constantinople being panelled in this way. It appears that there are but very few examples of tiles used in Cairo to decorate either the inside or the outside of mosques, though a few domes in the Qarâfah are girdled with enamelled earthenware mosaic and some tiles in the Museum are said to come from el Ghûry's tomb. The minarets of En Nâsser's Citadel mosque are also an example of that decoration, the tiles in this case being of a plain green rather like the colour of a dead turquoise. Another way of utilising enamelled earthenware in decoration has recently come to light. During the restoration by the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes* of the Mosque of Almalik el Gûkendar, polo-master of Mohammed en Nâsser (a.h. 719) traces were found in the east liwân of a plaster inscription on a ground of plain blue tiles.

Seeing that the subject interested me, H. volunteered to take me to see one or two little-known places where tiles were to be found. One of them is a very small mosque near el Azhar, in which is a quite unique *qibleh* illustrated by Bourgoin, in his *Précis de l'Art Arabe*, published in 1892, among the *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*. The Mosque is called El Ayny and, if I am not mistaken, is the mausoleum of a learned Sheykh who used to read history to the Mameluke Sultan Barsbây (early XVth century) and who now rests under a very graceful dome with charming wooden pendentives (see illustration). The prayer-niche is more curious than artistic but certainly quite unique: though somewhat damaged, enough of it remains to enable us to see the decoration scheme and to judge of the original effect. It is, or rather was, entirely lined with plain coloured tiles in royal blue, bluish-green and white; the two pillars which flank it were also faced with these tiles, arranged to form a design like that which lines the *qibleh* at El Moyyad. H. tells me that she does not know enough about tiles to form a personal theory as to the origin of these, but that they are supposed to be of Moroccan manufacture; it was the Bourgoin illustration which induced her to seek out this little mosque. It does not seem to be frequented by tourists, for the servants of it had no slippers to offer us and we had to take our shoes off in order to enter the sacred precincts.

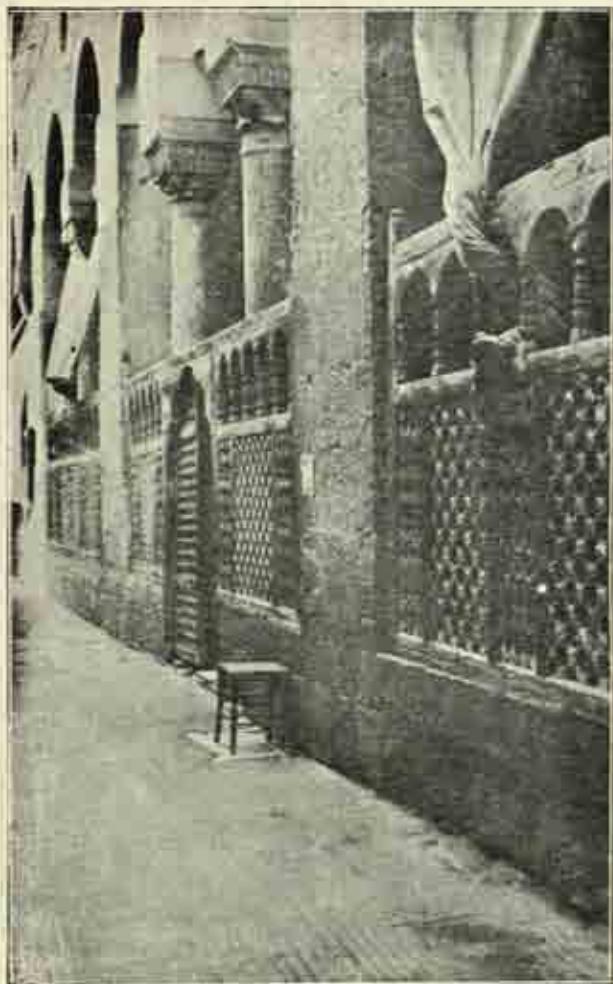
The same thing happened again the next day when, still in search of tiles, we went to see the Tekkiet el Gulshâny, another corner ignored by sight-seers, though it is in a very frequented thoroughfare and more interesting from the artistic than the archaeological point of view. It is a *tekkieh* or convent of derwishes of the *Qâdîriyeh* order, and it stands on the south side of the Sharia Taht er Rab', almost opposite the wall of El Moyyad's mosque. The entrance is absolutely modern, a flight of steps leads up to the porch of a house which might be a private town residence; even after entering through this door into a kind of hall, nothing remarkable strikes the eye and, if the door on the left happens to be open, nothing

appears but a large room which might be a school-room cleared of its furniture. But, on turning to the right, a few steps lead us into a courtyard at the end of which stands a small square stone building, surmounted by a graceful fawn-coloured cupola, of which the whole façade is covered with tiles. Save for a pleasing arrangement of small, alternate, plain green and flowered blue and white squares which frame the door-way, these tiles seem to have been placed anyhow, quite irrespective of their design, size or shape. But the colour effect is delightful, especially if the sun should be shining on it; the prevailing tone is blue and it is set off most harmoniously by the colour of the dome. Unfortunately the Derwishes seemed to have required more lodging room than was originally intended and they have added a hideous modern wing to their house, a corner of which comes across about a fifth of the façade and considerably spoils the effect. We were politely invited to enter the Mausoleum, and we did so, but it was hardly worth the trouble of removing our shoes. The sarcophagus was covered by an embroidered cloth which perhaps hid some carved wood, and enclosed in a mushrabieh trellis, the door to which had a very handsome silver key of the old mediæval shape. The walls, alas! were decorated with painted imitation tiles; we were shown sacred relics in a reliquary and some gaudy offerings from sick people who had been cured; I suddenly felt as if I were in a village chapel in France or in Italy. We were offered a drink of holy water, which was kept in a beautiful marble jar called a *sir*: there are some very like it at the Museum.

The next place we visited in our search for tiles afforded a very interesting example of Turkish architecture. It is usual among Cairo archaeologists to say that the Turkish invasion in 1517 marked the end of all artistic efforts in Egypt, that the Turks did nothing but destroy, and that, of the few monuments which were built since that time, none are worth looking at save those that were directly inspired from Arab sources, such as Sheykh El Bordeyny's charming little mosque. This is no doubt partly true and the Turks are responsible for much destruction and some horrible crimes against Art, to wit the atrocious red paint with which they disfigured many beautiful mosques, Ezbek el Yūssefy's for instance. But there is, to my mind, some beauty in the contrast between the heavy domes which they have copied from Hagia Sophia and their slender minarets, and it impossible to wish that the Mohammed Aly Mosque had not been placed on the Citadel to crown the city of Cairo and give it an aspect all its own, though I admit that the interior and near view of that monument are gaudy and vulgar. It happened that we chose the Turkish mosque of Abu Dhāhab, opposite the main entrance of El Azhar, on account of its tiles, but there are several others in Cairo that are better examples of that particular style, among others that of Sinān Pasha at Būlaq. The mosque of Solliman Pasha at the Citadel, which we visited the other day, is

much less harmonious in its proportions. Mohamed Bey Abu Dhahab, also built a *mekâneh*, in Es Sanadqieh.

A very rich man, so ostentatious that the people gave him the name



Phot. Wade.

Mosque of Mohammed Abu Dhahab. South entrance.

of Abu-Dhahab, Father of Gold, either to deride or flatter him, Mohammed has made himself notorious in history by his treachery and ingratitude.

The celebrated Aly Bey the Great (*el Kebir*) who through his own genius and courage, actually emancipated Egypt for a short time from the yoke of Turkey (1760) and conceived statesmanlike plans for her aggrandisement and development, was betrayed and undone by this man, whom he had



Phot. Stewart.

Mosque of Mohammed Abu Dhahab. South gallery.

brought up as his own son. Though repeatedly warned against Mohammed Abu Dhahab by more faithful followers, the great Mameluke refused to distrust him and it was only when he found his protégé leading an Ottoman

army against him that his eyes were opened. He was finally taken prisoner after a desperate encounter in which he was severely wounded and when he died, a few days later, public opinion, perhaps not unjustly, accused Abu Dhahab of having poisoned his benefactor's wounds.



Phot. Stewart.

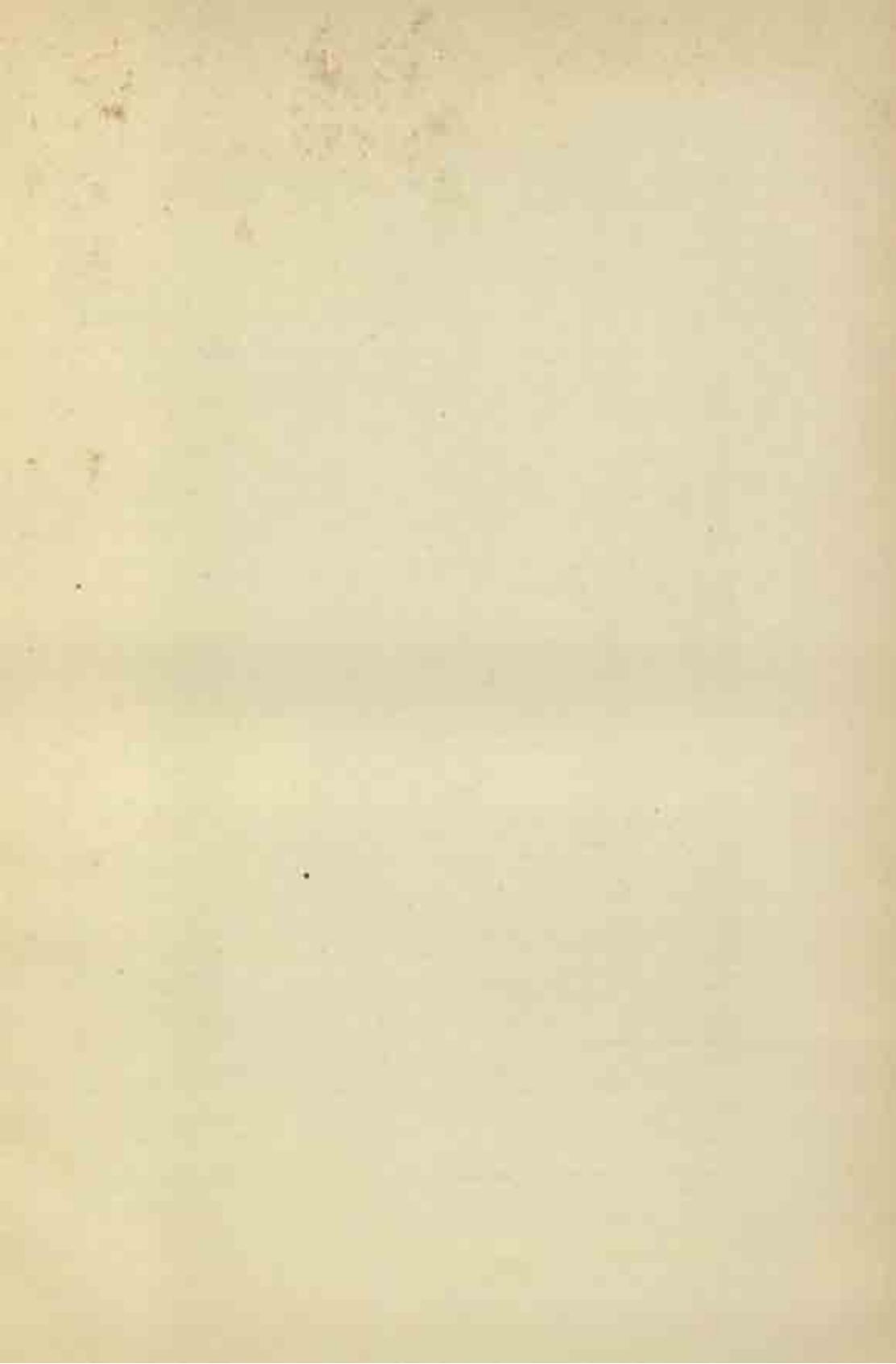
Mosque of Mohammed Abu Dhahab—North door.

It is a great pity that his mosque cannot be cleared of some of the buildings which crowd against it, for the handsome colonnade which surrounds it on three sides is not seen to its full advantage. The inner

hall, reached through beautiful doors of polygonal wood and ivory panelling in Mameluke style, has the peculiar harmonious charm of a domed interior, and the colouring is very pleasing, mellowed as it is by age. The outside gallery ends, on the north side, by an immense iron gate, rich and imposing-looking, though the design of the wrought-iron work is devoid of grace; an oblong panel of it, opening independently, admitted us to the Mausoleum. A large library of books and manuscripts, once kept in this room, has been removed; the sarcophagus is quite plain and hung with the usual draperies, but here we found the tiles, with which a whole side of the wall is faced. Though connoisseurs may perhaps find among them some valuable and interesting specimens, they are not nearly so effective as the tiles in the "Blue Mosque"; the colours are more varied and, though arranged with some regard to design, the whole scheme is much less bold and homogeneous and the general effect less artistic. I am very glad, however, that they caused us to visit this mosque and to appreciate its interesting contrast with the others we had seen⁽¹⁾.



(1) Since the above chapter was written, a very interesting and exhaustive work on the subject has been published in Cairo by the *Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, "Les Revêtements Céramiques dans les Monuments Musulmans de l'Egypte", by Claude Prost, containing twelve beautiful illustrations, including some of the monuments mentioned.





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Chatterton

Mushrabieh Window

LETTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF GAMAL ED DİN

A.D. 1634

The Hall of Beybars

Musâffer Khan Palace

House el Giridîch.

Palace of the Emir Beshîk.

The House of Zeynab Khatûn.

The House of Ibrahim es Sennâry.

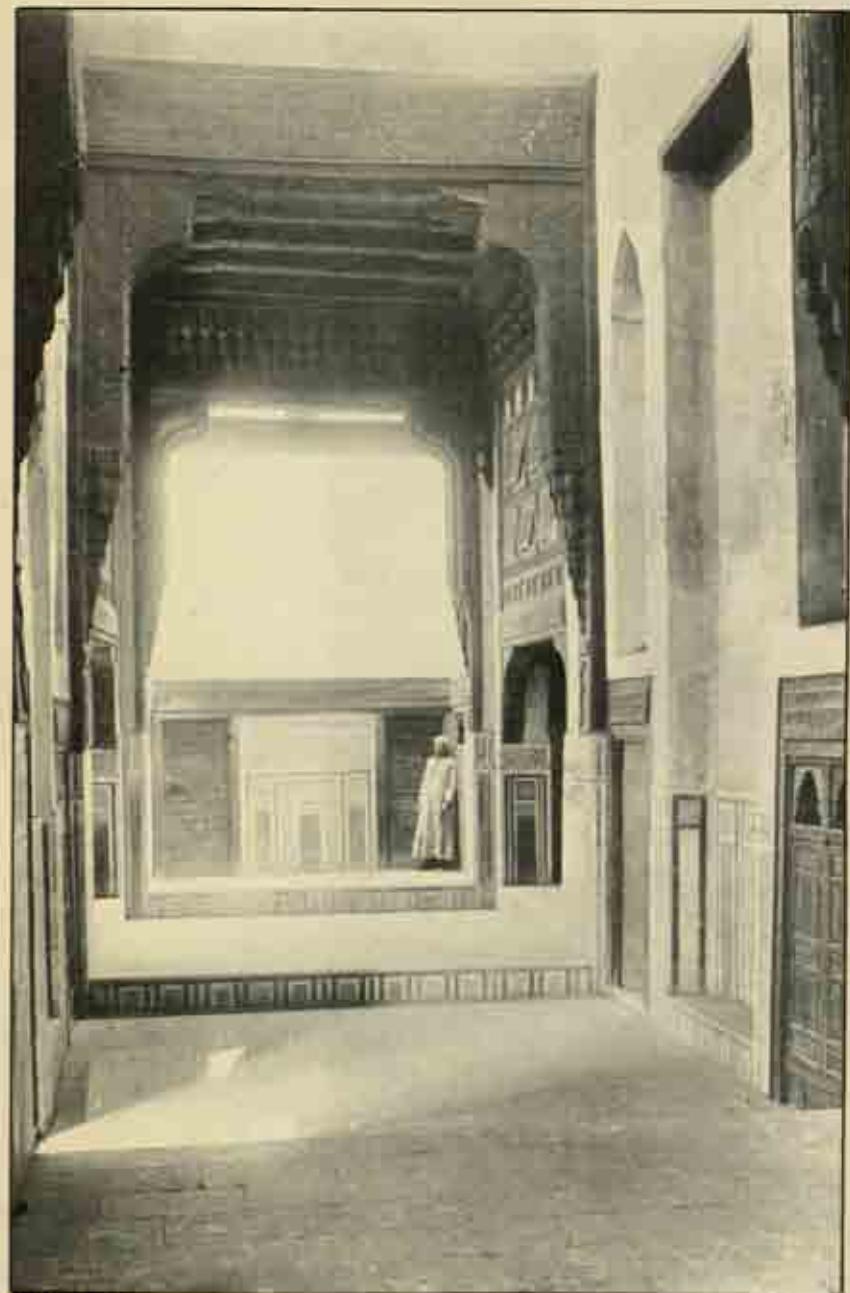
THE Arabs have a superstitious feeling against inhabiting a house of which the master is dead, and nothing goes to ruin sooner than a neglected, empty house. This may be the reason why so little remains in Cairo of the splendid palaces and private houses built for themselves by those rich Mameluke Emirs who did not hesitate to spend fortunes on their mausoleums. Of the few historic private houses that the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes* has undertaken to keep from decay, the most complete, the house of Gamal ed Dîn, dates from the XVIIth century, later than the Turkish invasion, but the architect who built it adhered to the Mameluke style. It is fairly well-known to sight-seers and would be more so if it were not a little difficult to find. It is reached by a narrow street called Sharia Khushqâdam (probably after the Mameluke Sultan of that name, a learned man of Greek origin, who reigned from 1461-1467) which turns off eastwards from the Sharia el Ghûriyeh close to a mosque called El Fakahâni, a comparatively modern building, built on the site of the mosque founded by the Fatimite Khalife Edh Dhâfer (543 a. h.). Let me mention by the way that the doors of this mosque belong to the original monument and are one of the few specimens in Cairo of carved wood of the Fatimite epoch.

The little street turns to the left after a few yards and then to the right again, becoming so narrow that the protruding, closet-like, wooden balconies on the first floor actually touch each other across the street. The "front door" is set in a low archway, and, when open, reveals nothing but a dark inner wall. As a matter of fact, the corridor leading to it goes off at a right angle and if you turn sharply to the left, you find yourself in the wide courtyard of the palace. Some work was going on in the centre of the yard and we found

that an octagonal fountain of beautiful mosaic was being placed there. It came from some ruined house and the *Comité* thought it well to restore it and place it where it could be seen. H. said fountains of that particular description were usually inside the houses, not in the courtyard, and that the fountains that are so frequently seen in the courtyards of old Arab houses in Damascus were more solid and weather proof. However it seems to harmonise very well with its surroundings. A pretty door, approached by a flight of steps, leads into a delightful kind of deep verandah called a *Maq'ad*, open on the courtyard side by two graceful arches and, on the other side, by a mushrabieh window looking out on the narrow street or rather into a similar window on the opposite side. Opening on the verandah is a balconied chamber, from which the ladies of the house could look into the yard and watch the visitors who came in through the front door. A narrow corridor passes the door of a typical Oriental bath-room and afterwards goes through a small chamber with a charming little mosaic console. Finally we were led into the *qa'a* or reception hall, a most delightful place. It is a long room, the beautiful marble mosaic pavement raised by one step at the two ends, and with several alcoves at the sides, evidently intended for cushioned divans. The ceiling is richly decorated, with apparent beams and stalactite brackets framing the alcoves. All round the room, up to about four feet, runs a dado of rich coloured marbles in a harmonious design. On the south east wall, this dado takes the shape of a prayer-niche indicating to the inmates of the house the direction in which to say their prayers. Above the wooden mushrabieh work of the windows and around a sort of lantern or small cupola over the centre of the hall, coloured glass panels shed an attractive light into the room. There are two or three different flights of stairs and many more rooms in the house, but none of particular interest, save one very large hall on the ground floor, unfortunately in a ruined condition, which was I believe, intended for entertaining chance guests, with the noble Oriental hospitality of which traces are yet to be found in this country. The owner of the house, Gamal ed Din edh Dhahaby, is referred to as Sheykh of the Merchants, and was probably Master of a Merchants' guild.

Charmed with my visit to this wonderful place, I demanded to see more and H. took me to see some other houses, most of which were very interesting indeed. It is useless to recommend you to see the most charming of them all, called, I believe, the House of Sheykh Mohammed el Qassaby, for it is inhabited by a Moslem gentleman of refined and quiet tastes, who, while taking intelligent care of his beautiful home, would not wish to have his privacy continually invaded by sight-seers.

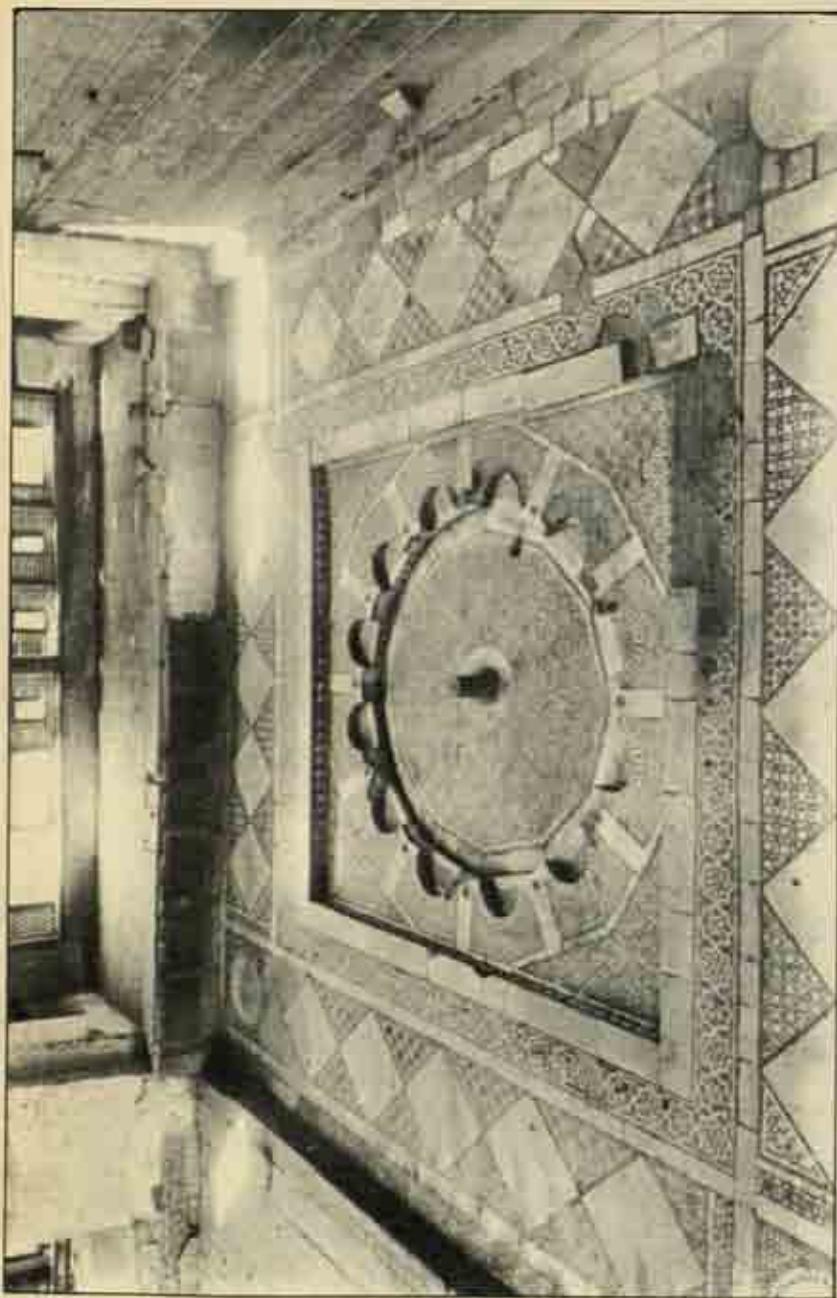
One very beautiful *qa'a* has been taken over and slightly restored by the *Comité* and is well worth a visit: it stands near the *Muristan* of Qalaün in a very wide turning from the *Sūq* en Nahassin, called *Beit el Qādy*, the House of the Judge, after a very fine *Maq'ad* of the XVth century which still stands



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(C. C. M. A.)

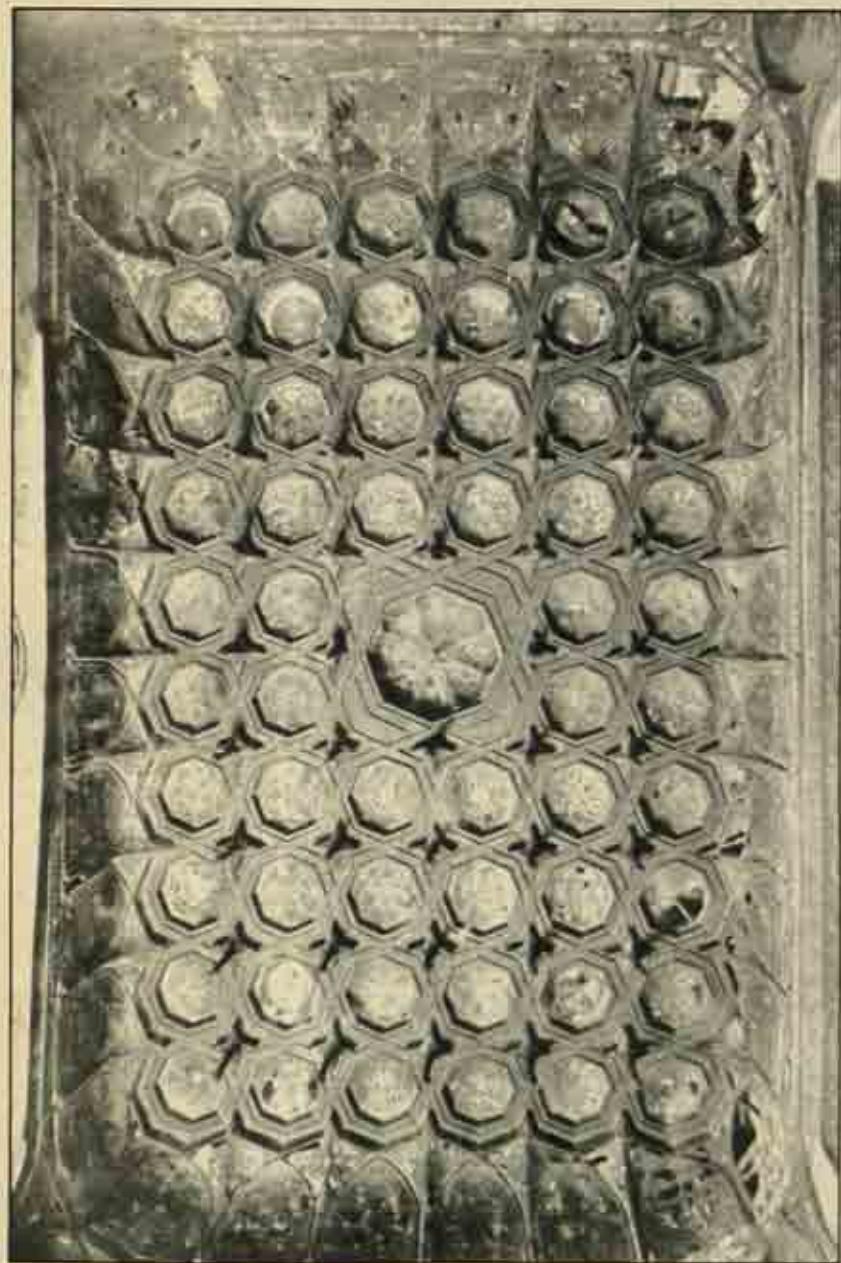
Qafa of house of Gamal ed-Din



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1877. 674)

(C. C. M. A.)

Mosaic fountain in House of Osman Katkhoda



Printed by the Survey of Egypt 1937. (674)

(C. C. M. A.)

Ceiling from Palace of Beshtâk



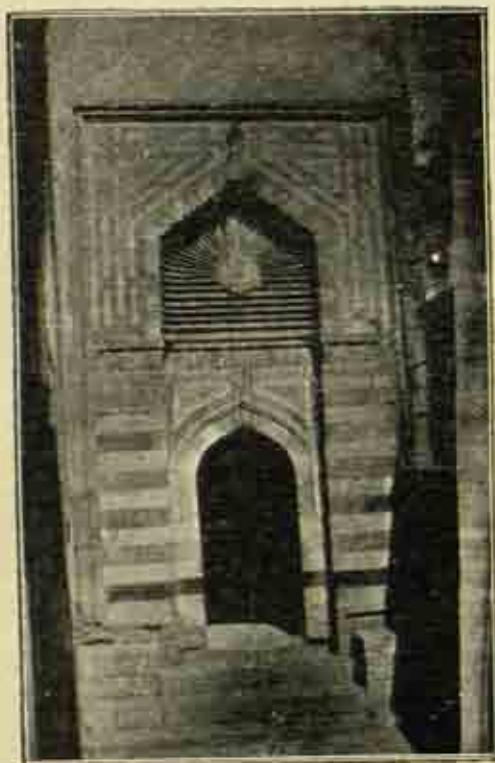
there and which belonged to a judge, the Emir Mamây. The man who is in charge of this also has the key of the *qa'a* in question on the opposite side of the street. It is often called the Hall of Beybars and dates in effect from the time of El Bondoqdârî (1253), but it became, in the XVIIIth century, the property of a Turkish official called Osmân Katkhoda who constituted it *waqf*⁽¹⁾.

It is the oldest known specimen of civil architecture in Egypt, and of the most grandiose proportions, its central part (of which alas! the lantern is gone) being over 15 metres in height. The wooden stalactites framing the alcoves are in a good state of preservation and there is an interesting inscription giving the date of the monument and the name of the founder, a certain "Mohamed Muhib ed Din el Muwakkel esh Shâfîy." The pretty marble mosaic fountain in the centre did not originally belong to this *qa'a*, but was recently transferred from a house in ruins called the house of Ayesheh el Bezadeh and dating probably from the time of Mohammed Aly; in order to avoid any misconception, this fact is stated in an inscription around the fountain, which looks far better in its place than the one in the courtyard of Gamal ed Din.

The next place we visited almost made me weep; it is the sad ruin of a very ancient palace, that of the Emir Beshtâk es Seyfy, a rich and powerful Mameluke of Mohammed en Nâsser (a.h. 738). Enough of it remains to make it a most interesting monument of that great period to which we owe so many beautiful religious buildings though practically no examples of private architecture. These valuable relics would constitute a precious document if only some care were taken to preserve them from further damage. But that is very far from being the case; in spite of persevering efforts, the *Comité* has been unable to obtain permission to interfere and it is heart-breaking to see the dirt and neglect which are slowly destroying this once luxurious palace. The entrance to it is not very obvious, it is through a poor modern door in the Darb el Kermîz, leading into a sordid looking courtyard; on our right, however, a well built stone wall shewed a great archway, now entirely filled up with masonry, but decorated on either side by the Emir's *blason*, or coat of arms, in a disk. A similar disk is to be found on the door-way which is all that remains of the Baths built by the same Beshtâk in the Sharia Es Serugiyeh, No. 224 of the plan. On asking for the *qa'a* we were taken up a dilapidated stone staircase to the first floor, where we found the great hall. Like other *qa'as* of Mameluke origin or style, the plan of it is very similar to that of a mosque; it even has an imposing arcade on

(1) "Waqf" denotes a trust created theoretically for pious or charitable purposes, such as the foundation and maintenance of a mosque or school, or the support of necessitous Moslems. One peculiarity of Waqf property is that it cannot be sold, although it may, with the consent of the Religious tribunal or *Mehkemeh Sharieh* be exchanged for other property of the same value.

rectangular pillars which divides it into liwâns exactly like a mosque. Perhaps the least damaged parts are the ceilings which are of a marvellous beauty; their design reminded me very much of that of Nâsser's ceiling at the Citadel, but in a different colouring. The small ceiling of the side liwâns shew a most intricate system of stalactites; they have unfortunately been disfigured by clumsy painting but I have heard experts formulate the



Phot. Chatterton.

Porch of ruined Baths of the Emir Beshtâk.

hope that the original paint might still be found underneath. There is also a sadly damaged door of polygonal marqueterie leading into a passage; it could probably be repaired by some of Cairo's skilful wood workers. The façade of this noble ruin overlooks the Sûq en Nahassin street, and should harmonise very appropriately with the beautiful group of mosques which makes this neighbourhood so attractive to artists. Let us

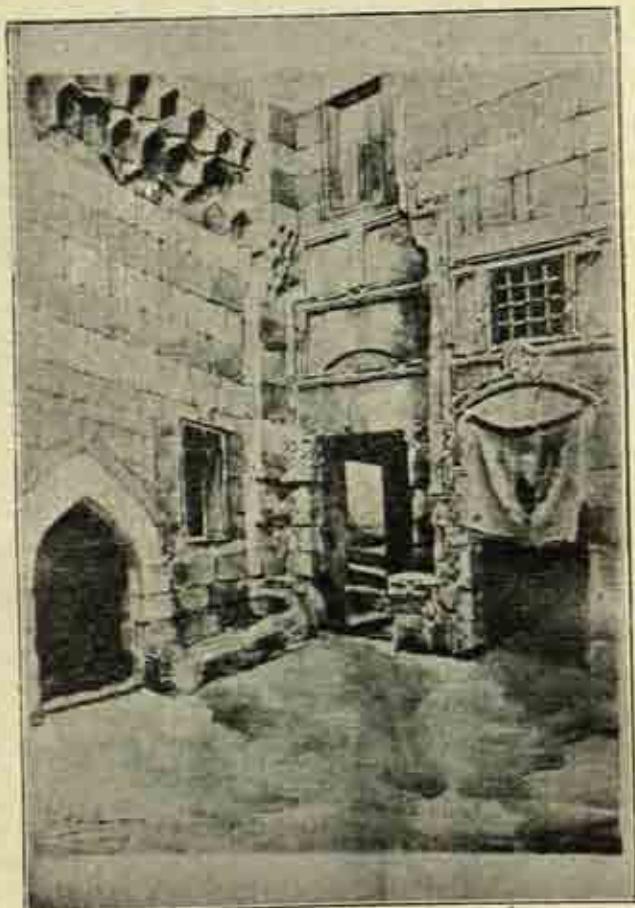
hope that means will be found to save Beshtâk's palace for posterity before it becomes utterly annihilated.

Another very interesting palace, of a very much more recent date, is to be found in the same neighbourhood, in a narrow turning off the Shâl Gamaliéh, called Qasr el Shôq (the Castle of Yearning Love), one of the Fatimite palaces built by Gohar, of which the name only has been preserved. It is called the Musâffet Khân (lodging for travellers) and, though not 200 years old, is also in a sad state of decay, the rich carved ceilings, marble dadoes and mosaic pavements falling to pieces for lack of care. Several of the rooms are panelled with charming cupboards of dove-tailed wood with open niches in which to place a bowl or a Persian vase, a most effective way of decorating a wall. Some of the ceilings in this house are particularly pleasing, being made entirely of stalactites and left unpainted in the plain, natural brown colour of the wood, probably Turkish sycomore, instead of the usual polychromic decoration which, beautiful and artistic as it was in the Mameluke days, is so often crude and glaring in more recent examples. This house was at one time inhabited by some of Mohammed Aly's descendants, and the first Khedive, Ismail Pasha, was born there. It is now unoccupied, an old Beibérine *baab* is in charge of it and very pleased to take visitors over it. He was not there when we arrived, but some obliging neighbours, apparently acquainted with his favourite haunts, went to fetch him and brought him back after a little time. I may say that on many other occasions I was struck with the good temper and willingness of the people whenever we required any assistance of the sort. And it was not always with a view to backsheesh, for many of them, who knew H. already, seemed perfectly satisfied with well-earned thanks and a polite salutation in Arabic. It is the rule that each visitor to a mosque or other monument should buy a ticket on entering: H. has a card from the Ministry of Wakfs which dispenses her and anyone accompanying her from this tax, but she nevertheless usually gave a small present to the guardian in charge, telling me that the tips which they receive are expected to eke out their very small salary. At el Azhar, where she was received more as a friend than a tourist, offence might have been felt if she had offered anything at all, but that would not apply to a stranger.

A propos of El Azhar, I must mention the house of an unknown lady, Zeynab Khatûn, in the immediate vicinity of the picturesque little mosque of El Aynî, near el Azhar. The Comité has succeeded in isolating the beautiful and very characteristic *qa'a* of this old house, which, being on the first floor, is reached by a well-kept staircase. Besides the ceiling, framed and supported by handsome brackets, there are cupboard doors of wood and ivory marqueterie in XVth century style, some good mushrabiéh windows and a quaint little bath-room.

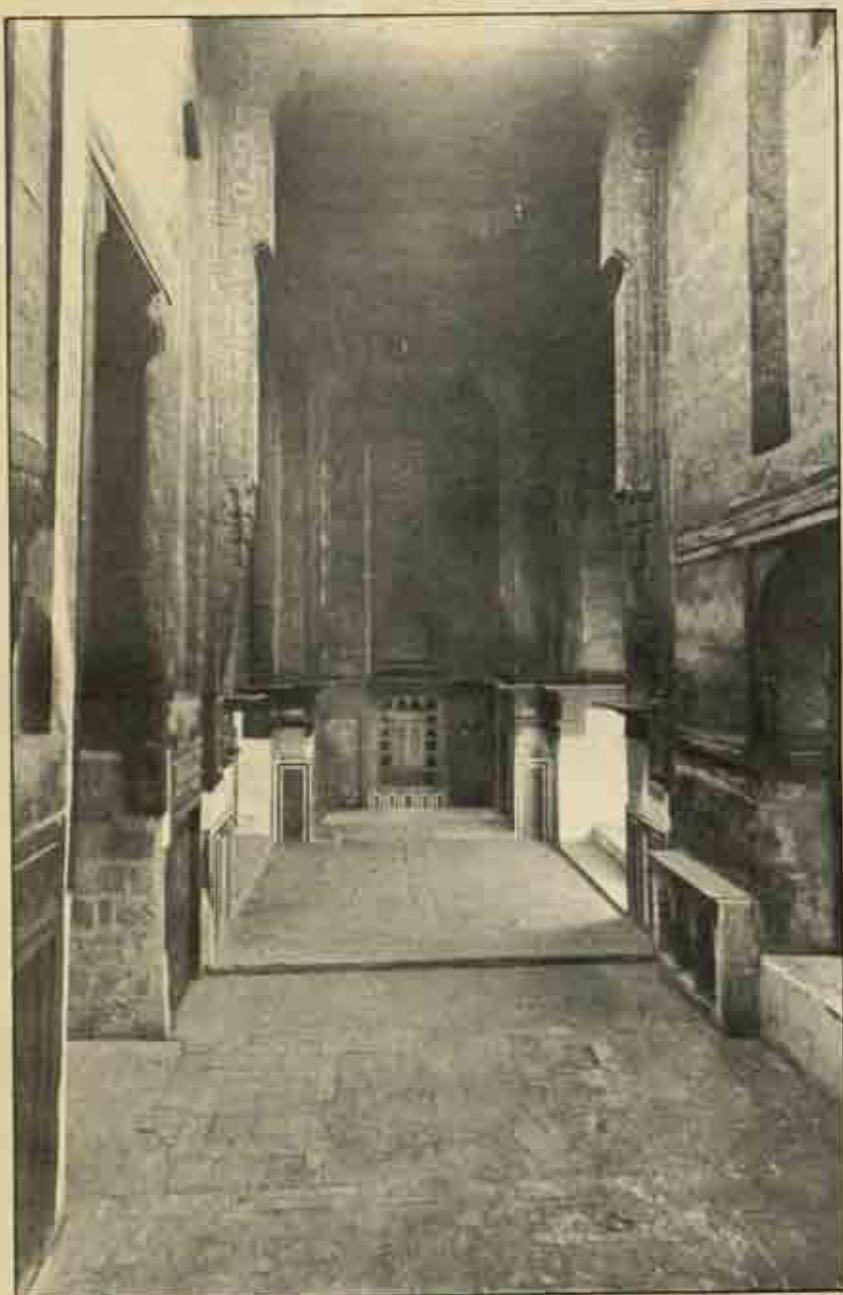
I enclose a picture of the façade of another XVIIth century house, which

is not photographed from the original, but from a very charming painting by an Egyptian artist. This house is quite near the entrance of Ibn Tulûn's mosque and has a particularly beautiful courtyard, quite invisible from the door-way, as is invariably the case with these mysterious Arab dwellings.



House el Giridieh from an original water colour
drawing by Aly Effendi el Ghawany.

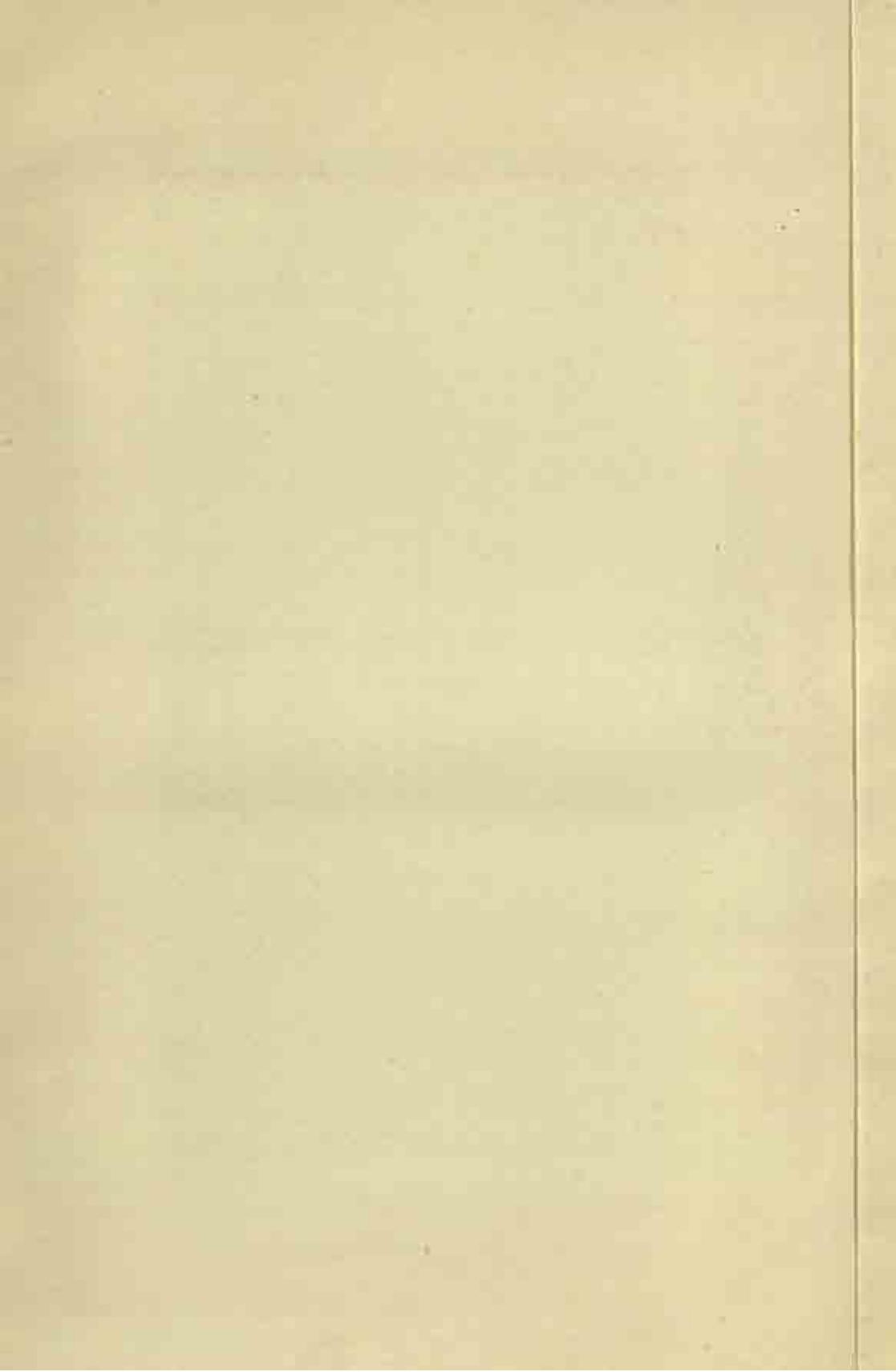
I am glad to add to the afore mentioned interesting old houses in Cairo that of Ibrahim es Sennary, which is quoted in the "Description de l'Egypte" as a specimen of Arab domestic architecture, and which

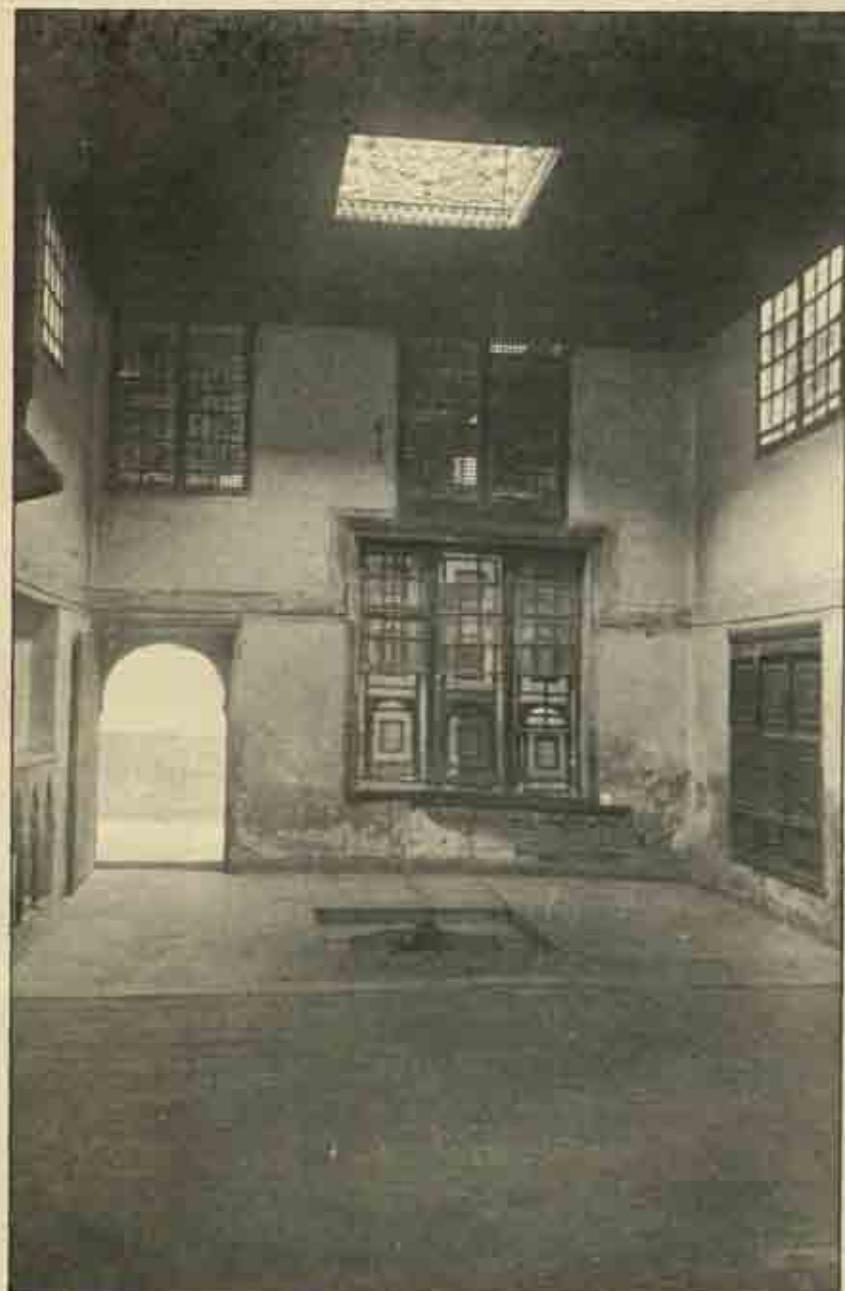


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(C. C. M. A.)

Qa'a of house of Zeynab Khatun

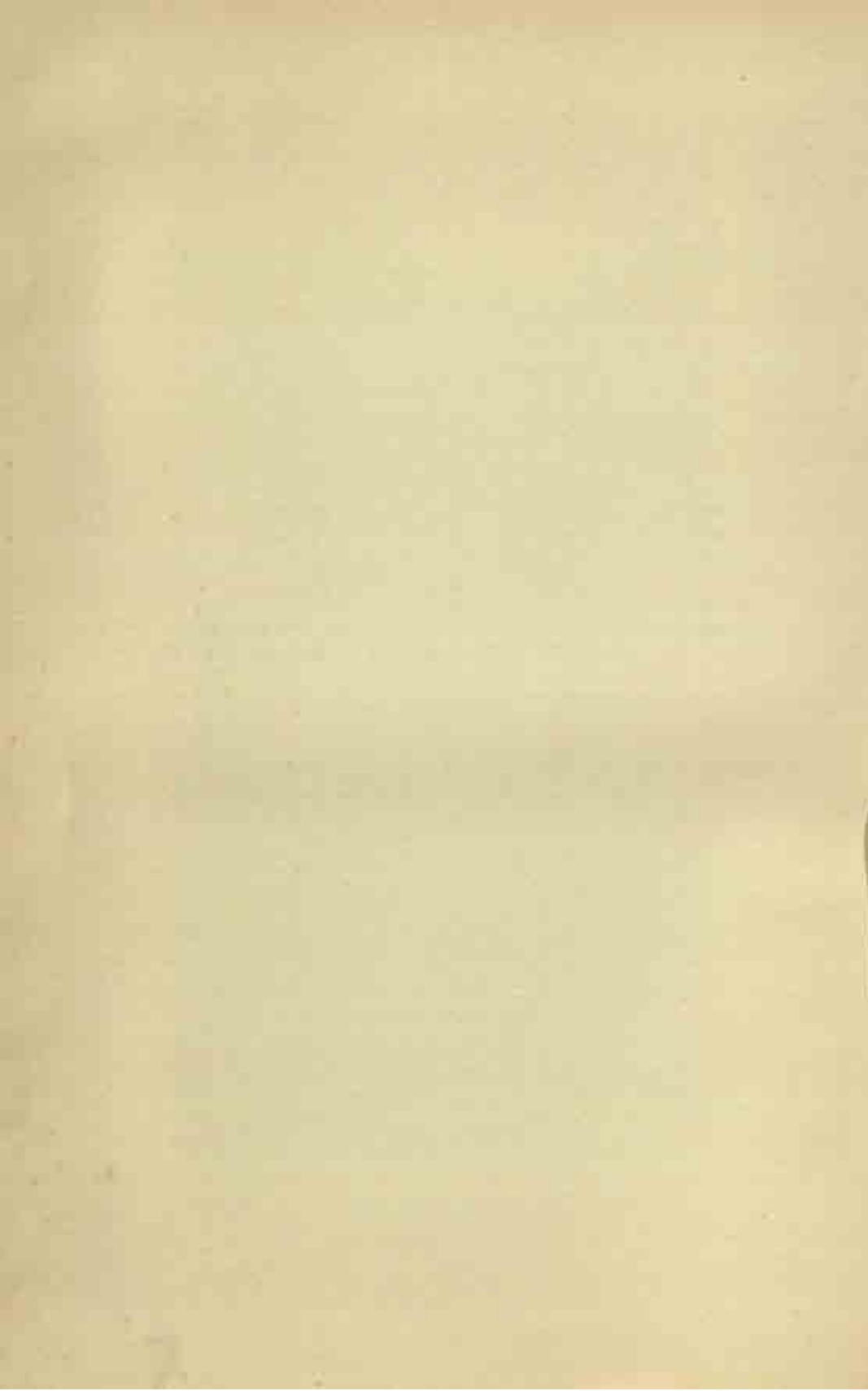




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(C. C. M. A.)

Qa'a of house of Ibr. es-Sennary



was used by the illustrious scientists who accompanied Bonaparte to Egypt in 1798. The foundation of the *Institut d'Egypte* is an example of Napoleon's extraordinary mental scope as of his marvellous elasticity. Fresh from the overwhelming naval defeat of Abukir, which would have disheartened a more ordinary man, he hastened back to Cairo, took a leading part in the great national feast of the cutting of the Khalig and, immediately afterwards, decreed the foundation of the *Institut d'Egypte*. The object of this Institute was, on the one hand, to introduce into this country the progress of modern civilisation and, on the other, to investigate the history of ancient Egypt and to tabulate the result of these researches. Of the work of this Institute, there remains to us the priceless accumulation of documents known as the "Grand Ouvrage d'Egypte". The first members of this learned company were the civilian "savants" whom Napoleon had brought with him, to whom were associated some staff or artillery officers. The meetings, supposed by the Egyptians to be gatherings of gold manufacturing alchemists, were held in a palace which had belonged to a Mameluke Bey, Hassan el Kâchîf, and which has since been pulled down to make room for the Sanieh Government School for girls. Several of the French savants were lodged in a small house adjoining the same property, which had belonged to a *Katkhoda* or Turkish Governor, Ibrahim es Sennâry. Though somewhat dilapidated, the little house still stands and is being repaired by the indefatigable *Comité*. The accompanying photograph shews part of its *qa'a*, with its pretty mushrabieh windows; another such window, close to the front entrance, alone reveals the existence of the old building to the rare passers-by. The inner courtyard is charming: a circular flight of steps in a corner leads to a gracefully decorated door and the *maq'ad* or arched balcony rises above a sort of low verandah on the ground floor. The house stands in a cul-de-sac on the east side of the Sanieh School, near the *Sebil* of Mustafa and the mosque of Sayedeh Zeynab.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE
OF THE PRINCIPAL
HISTORIC MONUMENTS OF CAIRO.

A. H.	A. D.		No. of plan (*)
21	641	Mosque of Amir Ibn el Aas ⁽¹⁾ , Old Cairo.	
247	861	2 nd Nilometer ⁽²⁾ , Rodeh Island.	
1196c	IX th c	Tulunide Aqueduct ⁽³⁾ , El Basatin.	
266	879	Mosque of Ahmed Ibn Tulun, Qalhat el Kabsh ⁽⁴⁾ .	220 H. 2

FATIMITE BUILDINGS.

360	970	Bab Qady Askar (underground passage)	47 C. 6
361	971	Mosque of el Azhar	97 D. 6
380	990	Mosque of Khalife El Hakem, near Bab el Futuh	15 A. 6
400	1010	Tombs Es Saba Banat ⁽⁵⁾ , Eastern Cemetery	
478	1085	Mosque of Emir el Guyushy, on the Moqattam	
480-84	1087-91	Second Wall of Cairo, and the three gates, Bab el Futuh, Bab el Nasr and Bab el Zuweyleh	352, 6, 7, 119 B. 6
519	1125	Mosque El Akmar ⁽⁶⁾ , Es Sannauin, prolongation of Sharia Suq en Nahassin	D. 5
			33 B. 6

(*) These numbers also correspond with Plan II of the *Comité's Bulletin*, which is on a larger scale.

(1) Conqueror of Egypt under the Khalife Omar. This mosque has been many times rebuilt and restored and nothing remains of the original monument. See the interesting study by E. K. Corbett in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, Vol. XXII, London 1890. Also, in Arabic the monograph by Yussef Effendi Ahmed.

(2) The first had been built in A. H. 98.

(3) Known by the fellahs as Migrat el Imam.

(4) See monograph in Arabic by Yussef Effendi Ahmed, Cairo 1917.

(5) Called by Maqrizi the Seven Domes and said by him to be the tombs of 7 members of the El Maghraby family, victims of el Hakem.

(6) Founded by Khalife El Amir.

			No. of plan
527	1132	Meshhed of Sayedeh Roqayeh (1), Sharia El Khalifeh	273 I. 3
555	1160	Mosque of the Wazir Saleh Telayeh, Qassabet Radwan	116 E. 5

AYUBITE BUILDINGS

572-79	1176-83	Citadel and 3 rd wall of Cairo.	
579 (?)	1183 (?)	Burg ez Zafer.	
608	1211	Mausoleum of the Imam Shafey (2), Southern Cemetery known as "Tombs of the Mamelukes".	
613	1216	Tomb of Es Saadat Tsalbeh, Southern Cemetery.	
622	1225	College El Kameliyah (3), Beyn el Qasreyn.	
640 ²	1243 ²	Tomb of Abbaside Khalifes (door and passage) (4), Sayedeh Nefisseeh.	276 I. 3
641	1243	College El Salehiyah, Suq en Nahassin	38 C. 6
647	1249	Tomb of Sultan Es Saleh Negm ed Din Ayub, Suq en Nahassin.	38 C. 6
648	1250	Zauwiyet and Madkhareh el Henud, El Tabbaneh	273
648	1250	Tomb of Queen Shagaret ed Durr (5), Sharia el Khalifeh.	169 H. 3

BAHARITE MAMELUKE BUILDINGS

651	1253	Hall of Beybars (Waqf of Osman Kathoda), Sharia Beyt el Qady	50 C. 6
660-62	1261-63	Remains of mosque of Sultan Beybars el Bondoq-dary (College Edh Dhaheriyeh), Sharia Suq En Nahassin.	37 C. 6
665	1266	Mosque of Sultan Edh Dhaher Beybars el Bondoq-dary, Sharia Edh Dhaheriyeh.	
682	1283	Tomb known as Fatmeh Khatun (6), Sharia El Ashraf, Sayedeh Nefisseeh.	274 I. 3

(1) Said to have been Aly's adopted daughter.

(2) Supposed to be built over the tomb of the saint by Queen Shamsa, mother of Sultan Kamel.

(3) Now only a few rooms; a beautiful plaster window framing is preserved at the Arab Museum.

(4) Contains seventeen tombstones with inscriptions, bearing the names of 2 Khalifes and of various sons, grandsons and daughters of Khalifes.

(5) The only woman ruler of Egypt in the Middle Ages.

(6) In reality the tomb of the mother of Aly, (son of Sultan Qalaun) and of himself as well as of his sister.

			No. of plan
683	1284	Zauwiyet el Abbar, Sharia es Seyufieh.	146 G. 4
683-4	1284-5	Mosque of Sultan Qalaun, Suq en Nahassin.	43 C. 5
684	1285	Muristan of Sultan Qalaun, Suq en Nahassin.	43 C. 5
680	1290	Tomb of Fadl Allah, Darb es Saadeh	186 D. 4
690	1291	Tomb of Sheykh Ibn Soliman er Rifaey, Haret Halawat, Suq es Selah	245 F. 5
693	1293	Tomb of Sultan el Ashraf Khalil, Sharia el Ashraf.	275 L. 3
696	1296	Minaret of Mosque El Bagly, Qism el Khalifeh	156 H. 4
VIII th c. ² - XIII th c. ²		Mosque of Imam el Leith ⁽¹⁾ , Cemetery of Imam Shafey.	
697	1297	Mausoleum of the Omayyad Imam Zeyn ed Din Yussef, El Qaderieh ⁽²⁾	172 K. 4
700	1300	Tomb of Qarasunqur ⁽³⁾ , El Gamalieh.	31 B. 6
703	1303	Mosque and twin tombs of the Emirs Silar, Governor of Cairo, and Sangar el Gawayly, Qala'at el Kabsh.	221 H. 2
703	1303	Mosque and tomb of Sultan Mohammed en Nasser Ibn Qalaun, Suq en Nahassin.	44 C. 5
709	1309	College and tomb of the Emir Taibars, precincts of El Azhar.	97 D. 6
709	1309	Convent and tomb mosque of Sultan Beybars el Gashenkir, El Gamalieh	32 B. 6
710	1310	Mosque of el Kurdy ⁽⁴⁾ , Darb el Gamamiz	213 G. 2
714	1314	Tomb of Gohar el Madany, El Rokbieh, Qism el Khalifeh.	270 G. 4
715	1315	Tomb of Hassan Sadaqa, Es Saa'dieh, Es Seyufieh.	263 G. 4
718	1318	Mosque of Sultan Moh. en Nasser Ibn Qalaun, Citadel	143 H. 5
719	1319	Mosque of Almalik El Gukendar ⁽⁵⁾ , polo master, On el Ghulam	24 C. 6
719	1319	Mosque of the Emir Hussein ⁽⁶⁾ , El Manasreh.	233 D. 3
725	1325	Mosque of Emir Shahab ed Din Ahmed el Mehmedar (master of ceremonies), Darb el Ahmar.	115 E. 5
730	1329	Remains of Mosque of the Emir Qusun, Sharia Mohammed Aly	202 E. 4

(1) Restored, perhaps entirely, under El Ghury. Non Moslem visitors are not admitted.

(2) Polo master, an Emir of Sultan Qalaun.

(3) The superb carved wood sarcophagus in this tomb was deliberately burnt down by an imbecile keeper.

(4) Founded by the Emir Sangar el Gamakdar.

(5) Called by Maqri Almalikiyah, also known as Zauwiyet el Halumeh.

(6) A mameluke of Greek origin, Emir Shikar (huntsman) of Lagin.

			No. of plan
VIII th c 730	XIV th c 1329	Wekaleh of the Emir Qusun, Bab en Nasr.	11 B. 6
		Mosque of the Emir Almas, (chamberlain), El Helmieh.	130 F. 4
730	1329	Aqueduct of Fum El Khalig ⁽¹⁾	78 L. 4
734	1323	College of the Emir Akbogha (major-domo), precincts of El Azhar.	97 D. 6
735	1334	Tomb of Tashtimur, Eastern Cemetery.	
736	1335	Bath of the Emir Beshtak, Sweiqet el Ezzi	244 F. 5
736	1335	Mosque of the Emir Beshtak, Darb el Gamamiz	205 F. 2
737	1336	Mosque of Aydemir el Bahlawan, Om el Ghulam.	22 C. 7
737	1336	Minaret of mosque of the Emir El Khatir, Bulaq.	
738	1337	Palace of the Emir Beshtak, Suq en Nahassin.	34 C. 6
740	1339	Mosque of the Emir Altumbogha el Merdany ⁽²⁾ , Et Tabbaneh, Darb el Ahmar	120 E. 5
740	1339	Mosque of the lady Hadaq Misken ⁽³⁾ , El Hanafy	252 F. 2
746	1345	Mosque of the Emir Aslam el Bahai (armour bearer), Darb Shoghlan	112 E. 6
747	1346	Mosque of the Emir Aqsunqur, also called Mosque of Ibrahim Agha, Sharia Et Tabbaneh	123 F. 5
748	1347	Mosque of Argiun Shah El Ismaili, En Nasrieh.	253 F. 1
748	1347	Zauwiyyah of Qetlobogha, Ground floor of house of Selim Pacha el Hegazy, Suq es Selah	242 F. 5
748	1348	Tombs of Khwend Tulbay and of Om Anuk (Princess Toghay), wives of En Nasser, Eastern Cemetery.	
750	1349	Mosque of the Emir Sheykhu, Sharia es Salibeh.	147 G. 3
750	1350	Mosque of Mangak el Youssef ⁽⁴⁾ , El Hattabeh	138 G. 6
750	1350	Door of Palace of Mangak el Selahdar ⁽⁴⁾ , Suq es Selah	247 G. 4
753	1352	Palace of the Emir Taz (now a girl's school), Es Seyufieh.	267 G. 3
755	1354	Sabil of the Emir Sheykhu, El Hattabeh	144 G. 6
756	1355	Tomb es Sultanieh ⁽⁵⁾ , Southern Cemetery.	
756	1355	Tomb of the Emir Sheykhu, Sharia es Salibeh.	152 G. 3

(1) Often attributed to Saladin, probably begun by En Nasser in 1311, restored in
stone by El Ghury about 200 years later.

(2) Cup bearer and son in law of En Nasser. This mosque was built by En
Nasser's Chief Architect, the Moallem Ibn es Seyufi, who also built the stone minaret
of the Madrassah of Akbogha at El Azhar.

(3) A slave of En Nasser.

(4) These two monuments were built by the same mameluke, the Emir Seyf el
Din Mangak ibn Abdallah Aly Youssef en Nassery, Selahdar, or Chief Armourer.

(5) Said by tradition to be that of mother of Sultan Hassan.

			No. of plan
757	1356	Mosque of Sultan Hassan ⁽¹⁾	133 G. 4
757	1356	Mosque of the Emir Suyurghatmish, Captain of the Guard, Sharia es Salibeh	218 H. 2
758	1357	Pulpit in mosque of Badr ed Din el Agami ⁽²⁾ , Haret es Salibeh, Suq en Nahassin	39 C. 6
761	1359	Mosque of Princess Tatar el Hegazieh, daughter of En Nasser, Darb el Qassassin, El Gamalieh	36 C. 6
761	1359	Zauwiyet Bashir Agha el Gandar ⁽³⁾ , Sharia Nur edh Dhalam, Es Salibeh	269 G. 3
764	1373	Mosque el Tenkezieh, Eastern cemetery	
771	1369	Mosque of Sultan Shaaban (or of his mother), Et Tabbaneh	125 F. 5
771	1369	Tomb of Ibrahim el Ansary (Aqsunqur), Qantaret Sunqur	310 E. 2
772	1370	Mosque of Assanbogha, Darb es Saadeh	185 D. 4
774	1372	Tomb el Ghannamieh, near el Azhar	96 D. 6
774	1366	Mosque of the Emir Aigay el Yussefy ⁽⁴⁾ , Suq el Selah	131 F. 4
VIII th c	XIV th c	Mosque of Methqai ⁽⁵⁾ , Darb Qermiz, Suq en Nahassin	45 C. 6
775	1373	Mosque of El Baqy, Haret el Utuf, Bab en Nasr	18 B. 7
783	1381	Tomb of Mohammed Anas, Eastern Cemetery, near that of Barquo ⁽⁶⁾	

CIRCASSIAN MAMELUKE BUILDINGS

785	1383	Mosque of Aytmiss en Nagashy, Bab el Wazir	250 G. 5
788	1386	Mosque of Sultan Barquo, Suq en Nahassin	187 C. 5
795	1392	Mosque of Inal El Yussefy, El Khiamieh	118 E. 5
VIII th c	XIV th c	Tomb of Saad ed Din Ibn Ghurab ⁽⁷⁾ , Eastern Cemetery	

(1) See detailed description by Herz Pasha, Cairo 1900.

(2) Badr ed Din removed several tombs of Fatimite Khalifas in order to build his Madrasseh.

(3) An eunuch; he finished the mosque of Sultan Hassan after the death of the latter.

(4) Husband and afterwards murderer of the mother of Sultan Shaaban.

(5) Restored very recently.

(6) Amas was the father of Barquo; a rough Circassian peasant, speaking not a word of Arabic, he came to Cairo to see his son who received him with honour and gave him the rank of Emir.

(7) A Mameluke of Barquo.

			No. of plan
VIII th c	XIV th c	Mosque of Moghlatay, Qasr el Shoq	26 C. 6
797	1394	Mosque of Mahmud el Kurdy, El Khiamieh	117 E. 5
804	1401	Mosque of the Emir Sudun Mir Zadeh ⁽¹⁾ , Suq es Selah	127 F. 5
IX th c	XV th c	Tomb El Monsy ⁽²⁾ , El Hattabeh	139 G. 6
805	1402	Tomb of Karkar, Eastern Cemetery	
810	1407	Mosque of the Emir Gamal Ed Din el Ostadar, Rahabet Bab el Eid, Gamaleh	35 B. 6
813	1410	Convent and tomb of Sultan Barquq, Eastern Cemetery	
813	1410	Mosque of Sultan Farag, Bab Ez Zuweyleh	203 D. 5
814	1411	Tomb mosque of El Ayny, near El Azhar	102 D. 6
818-23	1415-20	Mosque of Sultan el Moyyad, Bab Ez Zuweyleh	190 D. 4
818	1415	Minaret of mosque ez Zahed, Suq ez Zalat	83 A. 4
819	1416	Mosque of Kafur ez Zimam, Haret Khoshqadim	107 D. 5
821	1418	Mosque El Banat ⁽³⁾ , Sharia Mansur Pasha	184 C. 4
821	1418	Muristan of Sultan El Moyyad, behind M. es Sukkary (el Mahgar)	257 G. 5
822	1419	Mosque of Abdel Basset, El Khoronish	60 B. 5
826	1425	Mosque of Sultan El Ashraf Barsbay, El Ashrafiyah	175 C. 5
IX th c	XV th c	Minaret of mosque er Ruey, Sharia er Ruey	55 B. 5
830	1420	Zauwiyah of Firuz, Sharia El Mangaleh	192 D. 4
830	1420	Mosque of Ganibek, Sharia el Mogharbelin	119 E. 4
838	1434	Mausoleum of Sultan El Ashraf Barsbay, Eastern Cemetery	
844	1440	Mosque of Taghry Berdy, known as Saghry Wardy, Sharia Es Salibeh	209 G. 3
844	1440	Mosque of Saghry Wardy, El Maqassis	42 C. 5
844	1440	Wekaleh of Saghry Wardy, El Maqassis	188 C. 5
845	1441	Minaret of mosque of Qanbay el Tcherkassy, Sharia el Baqry, El Manshieh	154 H. 4
845	1441	Mosque of Qaraqoga el Hassany ⁽⁴⁾ , Darb el Gamamiz	206 F. 2
845-50	1444-46	Mosque of El Qady Yehia Zeyn ed Din ⁽⁵⁾ , Sharia Beyn en Nefideyn	182 C. 4

(1) A page of Sultan Barquq; the mosque is in ruins.

(2) Founded by Yunes ed Dawadar.

(3) Built by Fakhr Ed Din Abdel el Ghany.

(4) The minaret is reached from the roof of the mosque by a wooden bridge thrown across the street.

(5) This learned man had a most unhappy life, being persecuted and tortured by several Sultans, one after another. He died under torture at the age of 75, having built three beautiful mosques.

IX th c	XV th c	Mosque of El Qady Yehia Zeyn ed Din, El Habbanieh	204 E. 3
IX th c	XV th c	Mosque of El Qady Yehia Zeyn ed Din, Bulaq, (Mosque el Melkemeh).	
853	1449	Mosque of Lagin es Seyfy ⁽¹⁾ , Sharia Marassina	217 G. 1
855-60	1451-55	Tomb of Sultan Inal, Eastern Cemetery.	
855-60	1451-55	Tekkieh of Sultan Inal ⁽²⁾ , El Khoronfish	61 B. 3
856	1452	Tomb of Sheykh Zeiny Abu Taleb, Sharia Beyn es Sureyn	141 C. 4
860	1455	Tomb of Sultan Ahmed, Eastern Cemetery.	
864	1459	Mosque of the Emir Ganibek, Governor of Geddeh ⁽³⁾ , Sharia el Qaderieh, Qism el Khalifeh.	171 I. 4
IX th c	XV th c	Tomb of Sudun el Qasrawy, El Batanieh	195 D. 6
872	1467	Mosque of the Emir Khoshqadam el Ahmady ⁽⁴⁾ , Darb el Host	D. 4
873	1468	Mosque El Maraah ⁽⁵⁾ , Sharia Taht er Rab'	195 D. 4
875	1471	Mosque of Sultan Inal, Om el Ghutam	25 C. 6
876-900	1471-94	Sebil of Sultan Qaitbay, El Azhar	76 D. 6
876-900	1471-94	Maq'ad of Sultan Qaitbay, Eastern Cemetery.	
876-900	1471-94	Drinking trough of Sultan Qaitbay, Qalaat el Kabsh	222 H. 2
876-900	1471-94	Drinking trough of Sultan Qaitbay, El Azhar	74 D. 6
876-900	1471-94	Restored entrance and minaret by Sultan Qaitbay El Azhar	97 D. 6
876-900	1471-94	Bab el Qarafeh	278 I. 4
877-79	1472-74	Tomb-mosque of Sultan Qaitbay, Eastern Cemetery.	
876-900	1471-94	Rab of Sultan Qaitbay, Eastern Cemetery.	
876-900	1471-94	Façade by Sultan Qaitbay, Eastern Cemetery.	
880	1475	College mosque of Sultan Qaitbay, Qalaat el Kabsh	223 H. 2
882	1477	Wekaleh of Sultan Qaitbay ⁽⁶⁾ , El Azhar	75 D. 6
876-82	1471-77	Façade and Sebil of Mosque of Timraz el Ahmady, Emir Akhor (Mosque El Bahlui), Sharia el Lebudeh	216 G. 1
883	1478	College Mosque of the Emir Ganem el Bahiawan, (Mosque el Almy), Es Serugieh	129 F. 4

(1) Built by Sultan Mohammed Abu Said Gagmag.

(2) Founded by a lady relative of Sultan Inal.

(3) Afterwards restored by Qaitbay.

(4) An eunuch, Mameluke of Qaitbay. This mosque was formerly a *qa'a* in a palace of an earlier date.

(5) Founded by the lady Fatmeh, daughter of an Emir.

(6) Perhaps of an earlier date.

884	1479	Tomb El Fadawieh, El Abbassieh	
884	1479	College Mosque of Abu Bekr Mazhar el Ansary, Haret Birgwan	49 B. 5
884	1479	Mosque of the Emir Yushbek el Mahdy, Pont de Qubbelh	
884	1479	Sebil of Sultan Qaitbay, near Mosque of Sheykh, Sharia es Salibeh	324 G. 4
885	1479	Wekaleh of Sultan Qaitbay, near Bab en Nasr	9 B. 6
886	1480	College Mosque of the Emir Qigmash el Ishaky, (also called Abu Hariba), Darb el Ahmar	114 E. 5
IX th c	XV th c	Palace of the Emir Yushbek ¹¹ , Sharif el Mudhaffer	266 G. 4
IX th c	XV th c	Mosque of Sultan Shah ¹¹ , Sharia Ghayt el Eddeh	239 D. 5
IX th c	XV th c	Mosque of El Sueydy, Old Cairo	
IX th c	XV th c	Doors of mosque el Muzharieh, Sharia el Baghali, Bab esh Sharieh	8 A. 6
IX th c	XV th c	Minaret of the Mosque of Mogholbay Taz, Haret Bent el Memar	207 G. 3
898	1492	Palace of Qaitbay, Haret El Merdany	228 E. 3
IX th c?	XV th c?	Mosque of Abu el Eia, Bulaq Bridge	
XI th c?	XV th c?	Mosque of Gohar el Lala, Darb el Labban	134 G. 5
900	1494	Mosque of the Emir Ezbek el Yussefy, also hall and drinking trough, Sharia es Salibeh	221 H. 2
901	1495	House of the Emir Mamay, called Beyt el Qady, El Gamalieh	51 C. 6
904	1498	Tomb of Sultan Qansu II Edh Dihaher Abu Said, Eastern Cemetery	
906	1500	Tomb of Sultan el Adel Tumanbay I, El Abbassieh	
908	1502	Mosque of Qanibay, Emir Akhor (Master of the Horse), El Mauslieh	136 G. 5
908	1502	Mosque of the Emir Kheyrbek, Sharia et Tabbaneh	248 F. 5
X th c	XV th c	Palace of the Emir Kheyrbek, Sharia et Tabbaneh	249 F. 5
909	1503	Kuttab of Tarabay es Sherify, Bab el Wazir	251 F. 5
909	1503	Tomb and sebil of Tarabay es Sherify, Bab el Wazir	255 F. 5
909	1503	Mosque of Sultan Qansu el Ghury, Sharia el Ghuriyah	189 D. 5
909	1503	Mosque of Sultan El Ghury, El Manshieh	148 G. 4
909	1503	Tomb mosque of Sultan El Ghury, El Ghuriyah	67 D. 5
909	1503	Wekaleh of Sultan El Ghury, Sharia et Tablithah	46 B. 5

(1) Sultan in this case is a proper name and not a title.

909	1503	House of Sultan El Ghury, Atfet el Arbain, Es Salibeh	322 G. 3
909	1503	Small house of Sultan El Ghury, El Ghuriyeh	189 D. 5
909	1503	Maq'ad of Sultan El Ghury, Sharia et Tabliteh	66 D. 5
8 th c	XV th c	Tomb of Abu Sebas ⁽¹⁾ , Southern Cemetery	
909	1503	Gateways of Sultan Qansu el Ghury, Khan Khalili	56 C. 6
911	1505	Mosque of Qanibay el Mohammedy, Es Salibeh	151 G. 4
X th c	XVI th c	Mosque of Qanibay er Rammah, Es Nasrieh	254 F. 1
913	1517	Mosque of the Emir el Kebir, Eastern Cemetery	
909	1513	Gateway of Badestan (El Ghury), Khan el Khalili	53 C. 6
9151	509	Minaret of Sultan El Ghury, Arab el Yassar	159 F. 5

MONUMENTS POSTERIOR TO TURKISH CONQUEST OF CAIRO

925	1518	Mosque of Dashiutry, Bab esh Sharieh	12 A. 5
929	1522	Zawiye of Sheykh Hassan er Rumy, Sh. el Mahgar	258 G. 5
935	1528	Mosque of Soliman Pasha known as Sariyeli el Gabal, The Citadel	142 G. 6
941	1534	Liwan Rihan ⁽²⁾ , Southern Cemetery	
945	1538	Mosque of Shahin Agha El Khaluaty at the foot of the Moqattam	
950	1543	Tekkiet es Solimanieh, Es Sernigieh	225 F. 4
X th c	XVI th c	Mausoleum Es Sayed Esh Sharawy, Sh. esh Sharawy	59 B. 5
975	1567	Mosque el Mahmudieh ⁽³⁾ , El Manshieh	135 G. 5
975	1571	Mosque of Sinan Pasha, Bulaq	
982-86	1574-78	Mosque of Messih Pasha (El Messihieh), Arab el Yassar	160 I. 5
994	1585	Tomb of Sinan, Darb Qermez	41 B. 6
1013	1504	Tomb of Yussef Agha el Habashy, Sikket el Merdany	229 E. 5
1019	1610	Mosque of Malikeh Safiyyeh, Ed Daudieh	200 E. 4
1028	1619	Sebil Kuttab of El Qezlar ⁽⁴⁾ , Es Seyufieh	205 G. 4
1028	1619	Ceilings in the house of Aly Pasha Borham, Darb es Saadeh	336 C. 4
1041	1631	House and Sebil El Giridliyeh, Bir el Watahit	321 H. 3

(1) Built by the Emir Yunes, a mameluke of El Ghury.

(2) Built by the Emir Nuruz Kikhye es Shawishieh.

(3) Founded by Mahmud Pasha, a Turkish Governor, ferociously cruel, grasping and miserly, murdered by an unknown in 1567, much to the relief of the Cairenes.

(4) According to an inscription, this was "built by the blessed Mustafa Ayyu, the distinguished confidant of Kings and Sultans."

1047	1637	House of Gamal ed Din edh Dhahaby, Haret Khosh qadam, el Ghuriyeh	72 D. 5
1049	1639	Tomb and sebil of Ibrahim Agha el Gundran, Sharia et Tabbaneh.	238 F. 5
1059	1649	Sebil of Hussein Katkhoda, Sharia Om el Ghulam.	23 C. 6
XVII th c	XVII th c	House of Radwan Bey, El Khiamieh	208 E. 4
1063	1353	Sebil of Omar Agha, Sharia Dar es Samaka	240 F. 5
1078	1668	Tomb of Mustafa Agha Galeq, Southern Cemetery.	
1080	1670	Façade of mosque of Aksunqur el Fariqany, Darb es Saadeh	193 D. 4
1083	1672	Sebil of Mustafa Sinan, Suq el Setah	246 F. 4
1084	1673	Sebil Kuttab of Oda Bashy ⁽¹⁾ , El Gamalieh	17 B. 6
1084	1673	House of Oda Bashy ⁽²⁾ , El Gamalieh	19 B. 6
1086	1675	Sebil kuttab of Shahin Agha, Ed Daudieh	328 E. 4
1088	1677	Sebil kuttab of Aly Agha Dar es Saadeh, Es Seyufieh	268 I. 4
1088	1677	Sebil kuttab of Abdel Baqy Ibn Ladin, Darb es Saadeh	194 D. 4
1088	1677	Sebil kuttab of Yussef Agha ⁽³⁾ el Habashy, Darb el Ahmar.	230 E. 5
1106	1695	Sebil Waqf Beliefieh, Suq el Ezzi, Suq es Silah.	243 F. 5
1109	1698	Mosque of Mohammed Katkhoda, Citadel	145 G. 5
1120	1708	House of Emir Musa Qurbagy, Mirza Mustahfezan, Bulaq.	
1122	1710	Sebil kuttab of Aly Bey ed Dumiaty, Darb es Saadeh.	197 D. 4
1123	1711	Mosque el Hag es Sukkary, El Mahgar	137 G. 5
1127	1715	Sebil kuttab of Musally Khurbagy, Meidan el Moussely.	232 E. 4
1129	1717	Sebil of Mohammed Mustafa, Ed Daudieh	329 E. 4
1131	1719	Sebil kuttab of Bashir Agha Darb es Saadeh, El Habbanieh	309 E. 3
1135	1722	Sebil of Abu el Iqbal, El Batenieh	73 D. 6
1142	1729	Sebil Kuttab Beybars ⁽⁴⁾	16 B. 6
1147	1734	Mosque of Osman Katkhoda, Sharia Abdine	264 C. 2
1152	1739	Sebil of Sitta Saleheh, Darb esh Shamsy	313 G. 1
1157	1744	Sebil kuttab of Abd er Rahman Katkhoda, Beyn el Qasreyn	21 B. 6

(1) Under the Ottoman rule, the Oda Bashy was an official whose function it was to bring to the Pasha of Egypt the news of his dismissal.

(2) A school for orphans.

(3) Founded by the Emir Qartes.

1157	1744	Façade of mosque of Abd er Rahman Katkhoda, Sharia el Mugharbelin	214 E. 4
1157	1744	Sebil and trough of Abd er Rahman Katkhoda, El Hattabeh	200 G. 6
1157	1744	Tomb of Abd er Rahman Katkhoda, precincts of El Azhar	97 D. 6
1159	1746	Sebil of Ibrahim Kholussy, Es Serugiyeh	226 E. 4
1164	1750	Tekkieh and sebil of Sultan Mahmud, El Habbaniyah	308
1167	1753	Sebil of Ibrahim Bey ⁽¹⁾ , Ed Daudieh	33 B. 6
1173	1760	Sebil of Sultan Mustafa, Sayedeh Zeynab	314 G. 1
1177	1764	Mosque of El Hayatim, El Hayatim	259 F. 2
XII th c	XVII th c	House of Sitta Hafizah (Sami el Barudy) ⁽²⁾ , Bab el Khair	338 D. 3
1187	1773	Mosque of Mohammed Abu Dhahab, El Azhar	98 D. 6
1187	1773	Wekaleh Abu Dhahab, Es Sanadqieh	351 D. 6
1188	1774	Sebil of Mohammed Abu Dhahab, Sharia et Tab- bitieh	62 D. 6
XII th c	XVII th c	Sebil of Sheykh el Mutahhar, El Khurdayieh	40 C. 5
1193	1779	Palace of Mussâfer Khan, Qasr el Shoq, El Gamalieh	20 C. 7
1205	1790	Mosque of Ahmed el Bordeyni, Ed Daudieh	201 E. 4
1207	1792	Mihrab of Mosque of Mahmud Moharrem, Rahabet Bab el Eid, El Gamalieh	30 C. 6
1211	1796	House of Mohammed el Qassaby	330 B. 6
XIII th c	XVIII th c	Façade of mosque of Hassan Pasha Taher, Birket el Fil	210 G. 3
1327	1911	Mosque of Rifaey ⁽³⁾	N. G. 4

(1) A learned and pious man, owner of a fine library; this sebil is erroneously called Ismail el Kebir.

(2) Now used for Government Offices.

(3) This mosque, which English visitors often call the "Coronation" mosque, is built on the site of the tomb of an ancient Saint, Sheykh Aly er Rifaay, and Maqrizi describes a mosque which stood there in the Middle Ages. Princess Khushiar, mother of the Khedive Ismail, began the erection of a mosque on this site, but the work was interrupted by her death. In 1906, the Khedive Abbas Hilmy ordered the completion of the monument, and it was achieved at very great expense, under the direction of Herz Pasha, at that time Architect in Chief of the *Comité de Conservation des Monuments Arabes*. Non Moslem visitors are only admitted on presentation of a permit from Abdin Palace.

GLOSSARY.

Abbasides. A line of Khalifes descended from the Prophet's uncle Abbas, and professing Sunni, i.e. traditional or orthodox doctrines.

Baharite. See page 43.

Boab. Door-keeper.

Burgite. See page 59.

Dikkeh. Raised gallery from which the prayer-leader would be visible to a large congregation.

Emir. Lord, Prince, a title usually accompanied by military rank.

Fatimites. A line of Khalifes, claiming to be descendants of Fatima, the Prophet's daughter, and Aly her husband. El Moezz, 4th Fatimite Khalife, conquered Egypt in 969, and established the Shiite heresy which prevailed until the time of Saladin.

Gama. Mosque intended for large congregations.

Hareem. A word meaning *women* and applied by extension to the women's quarters in a palace or house.

Hanafites. The followers of Abu Hanifeh, founder of one of the four orthodox or Sunni sects of Islam.

Hanbalites. The followers of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, founder of one of the four orthodox or Sunni sects of Islam.

Imām. A recognised Preacher, or a Coran reader: an imām may have another occupation as well, such as teaching or commerce, etc.; several Khalifes have borne the title of Imām.

Kathkoda. A Turkish title, given to the principal Lieutenant or minister of the Governor or Pasha appointed by the Ottoman Sultans to rule over Egypt. The same word is often spelt and pronounced Kikhyā.

Khalife. Spiritual head of Islam, claiming to be the Prophet's representative.

Khatān. A Turcoman word, meaning Noble Lady.

Khazindār. Treasurer.

Khwend. A Turcoman word, meaning Highness, sometimes given to Princes, but more usually to Princesses.

Kāfi. An early and wonderfully decorative form of writing. The modern form, called *neskhy*, came into use in the time of Saladin.

Kursy. A stool or low table, also the special reading-stools used in mosques by Coran readers.

Kuttah. A primary school.

Liwan. Each of the four divisions of a cruciform mosque, usually opening on to the sahn by a great arch. The liwan which contains the qibleh and minbār represents the sanctuary. Also applied to the divisions of a qa'a in a private house.

<i>Makkareh.</i>	Peculiar grooved cone on summit of minaret.
<i>Madrasseh.</i>	School or college mosque.
<i>Malakites.</i>	The followers of Malik ibn Anas, founder of one of the four orthodox or Sunni sects of Islam.
<i>Mameluke.</i>	See page 42.
<i>Mandareh.</i>	Main reception room of palace or house.
<i>Maq'ad.</i>	Arched verandah or balcony overlooking courtyard of palace or house.
<i>Mesged.</i>	Place of worship.
<i>Meshhed.</i>	Shrine.
<i>Midan.</i>	An open square, originally a polo ground.
<i>Mihrib.</i>	Niche sunk in a wall built at right angles to a line drawn from Mecca, indicating the direction towards which a Moslem should turn when engaged in prayer. Also called <i>qiblah</i> .
<i>Minaret.</i>	Tower of mosque, from the balcony of which Moslems are called to prayer at stated hours.
<i>Minbar.</i>	Pulpit of mosque.
<i>Muristān.</i>	Mediaeval name for hospital, now called a <i>mustashfeh</i> , or <i>esbeldiyyeh</i> .
<i>Mushrabieh.</i>	Name given to a lattice work of turned wood, generally used as a blind or screen to a window.
<i>Mustahfesān.</i>	High Turkish Official.
<i>Neskyr.</i>	See <i>Kuṭb</i> .
<i>Qā'a.</i>	Principal hall of a palace or house.
<i>Qalā'a.</i>	Castle.
<i>Qarājeh.</i>	Cemetery.
<i>Qasr.</i>	Palace.
<i>Qiblah.</i>	See <i>Mihrib</i> .
<i>Qubbeh.</i>	Dome, usually over a tomb.
<i>Sahn.</i>	Central court of mosque.
<i>Salsabil.</i>	An inclined marble panel destined for flowing water.
<i>Saqqeh.</i>	See page 27.
<i>Sebīl.</i>	Free fountain.
<i>Shaf'ites.</i>	The followers of the Imām Shaf'ī, (died a.h. 204), founder of one of the four orthodox or Sunni sects of Islam.
<i>Sheykh.</i>	An old man, an Elder, a wise and learned man.
<i>Shiite Doctrine.</i>	A heretical form of Mohammedanism practised by the Fatimites in the Middle ages and at the present day still prevailing in Persia.
<i>Tekkeh.</i>	Dwelling house of a community of Derwishes or Sūfī monks.
<i>Ulema.</i>	Piṇṭar of Alīm, learned man. Generally applied to scholars in Moslem divinity.
<i>Wādy.</i>	Valley River. The dry bed of an intermittent stream.
<i>Waqf.</i>	See page 93, foot note.
<i>Wazīr.</i>	Prime Minister.
<i>Wekāleh.</i>	Hostelry.
<i>Zir.</i>	A large water jar.

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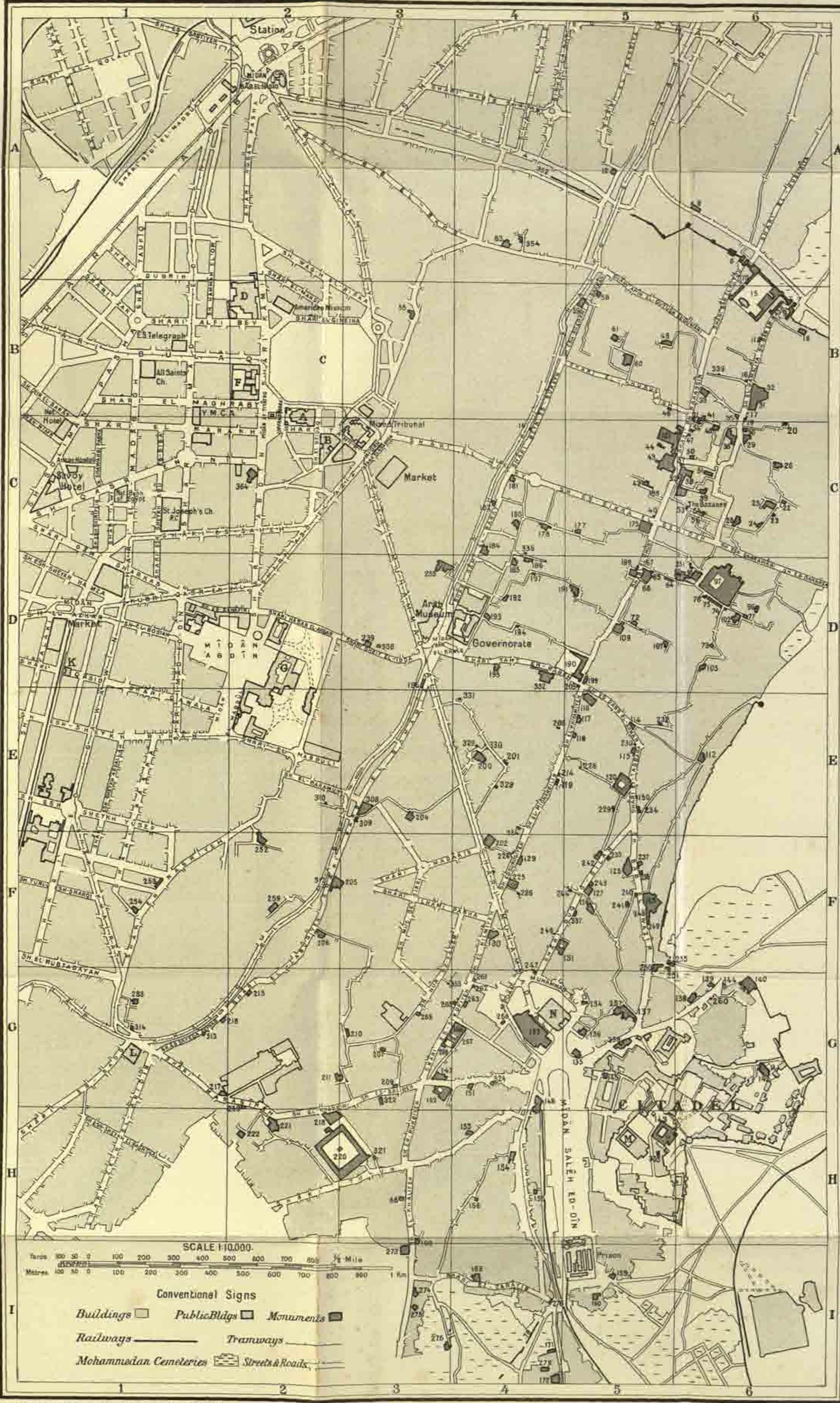
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D. Sheepshard's Hotel	D. Sheepshard's Hotel
E. Continental Hotel	E. Continental Hotel
F. Opera House	F. Opera House
G. Azhar Palace	G. Azhar Palace
H. Bāb el 1. Station	H. Bāb el 1. Station
I. Mosque of Sayyid Zayn	I. Mosque of Sayyid Zayn
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